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REFLECTIONS

ON THE

POLITICAL STATE OF SOCIETY,

AT

THE COMMENCEMENT

OF

THE YEAR 1800.

BY JOHN BOWLES, ESQ.

"Sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes—illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli "esse."

TAC.

"No pause, no rest, 'till, welt'ring on the ground,
"The pois'nous Hydra lies, and pierc'd with many a wound."

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REFLECTIONS, &c.

THE great and important objects which have hitherto engaged the ſolicitude of ſtates; which have been the ſources of ambition, the cauſes of war, and the ſubjects of treaty; and which, in latter ages, have been moſt judiciouſly and happily regulated by the wiſe and beneficent ſyſtem, denominated the Law of Nations; theſe objects ſeem now to be merged in a conteſt, ſtill more novel and extraordinary, than it is violent and obſtinate. That conteſt abſorbs all political intereſts in one grand paramount intereſt, univerſal in its extent, inconceivable in its magnitude, and permanent in its duration. It reduces to a comparative inſignificance the concerns, which have been wont to excite the utmoſt anxiety; and it attracts, as to a centre, the attention of mankind, although it does not rouze their feelings, nor ſtimulate their exertions, in a manner at all adequate to its importance.

Although

Although this conteſt has been purſued for ſeven years with unexampled fury — although numerous and extreme viciſſitudes have alternately filled the contending parties with confidence and deſpair—nay, although a campaign, the moſt brilliant in hiſtory, has at length crowned the allied arms with the moſt important advantages, and delivered a great part of Europe from the fangs of Republican tyranny—it ſtill remains a queſtion, on which no diſcreet man will venture a confident opinion, whether the French Republic or its opponents will ultimately prevail. But there is another queſtion, much more eaſy to be ſolved, and in which every individual of the human race is deeply intereſted—What conſequences, in either caſe, will reſult to mankind? Upon this queſtion, happily, it is no difficult matter to pronounce with ſufficient certainty. If the Allied Powers ſhould triumph, the worſt that can happen will be the downfal of a Republic which has produced only miſery, carnage and deſolation—a termination of the diſaſtrous experiment of the ſyſtem of Liberty, Equality and the Rights of Man—and a continuance of the exiſting eſtabliſhments, and of the ancient inſtitutions of ſociety; under which, with all their defects, mankind have arrived at a high degree of perfection in all the improvements of cultivated life; and which, with all their abuſes, have for their un-

doubted objects the harmony of ſtates, the ſecurity and independence of nations, the ſafety of perſons, the protection of property, the promotion of virtue, the prevention of injury, the redreſs of wrong, and the quiet and good order of ſociety. To prevent the exchange of ſuch a ſtate for one involved in uncertainty, ſhould call forth all the energies of the human ſoul. No uncertainty, however, attends the other part of the alternative. Suppoſing the French Republic to triumph over her opponents, there are ample grounds to enable us to judge of the conſequences which would attend ſuch a reſult of the conflict. The principles of that Republic are too well known to admit of any doubt upon this ſubject: and principles are the natural ſprings of hnman conduct; and thoſe of a pernicious and immoral kind, falling in with our paſsions, operate more powerfully, and more uniformly, than thoſe which have a beneficial tendency.

Now it is too notorious to be diſputed, that the principles of the Republic would lead her to change the whole face of civil ſociety; to ſubvert every eſtabliſhed government, and every ſubſiſting inſtitution; to ſuperſede all the laws, treaties, uſages, and habits, which regulate the intercourſe of mankind in all their various relations; to tear aſunder all the ties, political, civil, and moral, which bind together the human race in their infinitely diverſified connec-

tions—nay, to diſſolve, in regard to all influence upon the minds and actions of men, their firſt, their laſt, their moſt ſacred tie—that which ſubjects them to their Maker in a ſtate of unceaſing dependence, and of awful reſponſibility; to ſpread, in ſhort, univerſally, the ſyſtem of anarchy, vice, and impiety, which has been introduced into France, and to ſubject the whole world to her oppreſsive and mercileſs dominion.

Such is the undoubted tendency of the principles of the French Republic with regard to other countries; and although it was her obvious policy not to alarm foreign powers by diſplaying the real nature and extent of her views, her attachment to thoſe principles has been ſo ſtrong, and her enthuſiaſm for them ſo ardent, that ſhe has, on a multitude of occaſions, avowed them in terms too explicit to be miſtaken. It is true, ſhe has artfully endeavoured to counteract the danger of ſuch avowals by profeſsions of general good-will, of moderation, and of a love of peace; and ſometimes ſhe has even attempted to conceal her deſigns of ſubverſion by poſitive aſſurances, that ſhe "knew how to reſpect other governments*." But often, in ſpite of all her artifices, her true principles have eſcaped her; and ſometimes, indeed, it was neceſſary to declare them,

* See the Correſpondence between Lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin.

to a certain extent, for the direction of her agents, for the edification of her converts, and even for the excitement and ſeduction of the maſs of mankind. The teſtimonials which ſhe has furniſhed of this kind are too numerous to be quoted, and too well known to require citation. The preſs has for years groaned under their load. They are in every one's hands, from the early declarations of the firſt revolutioniſts, announcing that the friends of the French Conſtitution embraced the whole world in their ſyſtem of fraternity;—to the decrees by which the Republic, in the firſt moments of her exiſtence, proclaimed that ſhe would make war for the purpoſe of granting aſsiſtance to all people who wiſhed to recover their freedom, and that ſhe would treat as enemies all people, who would not accept of liberty and equality, or who ſhould be deſirous of retaining their Prince and privileged claſſes;—down to the innumerable other declarations, boaſtings, oaths, denunciations, and menaces, all breathing the ſame ſpirit, by which mankind have had fair notice of what they muſt expect from victorious France.

We have, however, ſtill better evidence on this ſubject than that of principles and profeſsions—the evidence of fact and experience. Could any doubt remain reſpecting the conduct which France would purſue, if her arms were tri-

 umphant,

umphant, that doubt would diſappear upon a review of her conduct wherever thoſe arms have penetrated. Has not her practice been every where in exact conformity with her principles and her declarations? Has ſhe not, wherever her ſtandard has been erected, fully realized her avowed ſyſtem of complete ſubverſion? Has not every inſtitution of ſociety vaniſhed at her approach? Has ſhe not cruſhed every ſtate that ſhe has been able to bring within her mercileſs graſp? Has ſhe not brought conviction to every mind of the perfidy of thoſe profeſsions of univerſal benevolence and good-will, under which ſhe endeavoured to conceal her real deſigns?—Where are now the magnificent promiſes of freedom and happineſs, by which ſhe ſought, and with too much ſucceſs, to lull the people of the wretched countries, which ſhe has ſubjected to her yoke, into a falſe ſecurity, and to prevent them from rallying round their lawful ſovereigns, their natural protectors, for mutual defence? Where is that *ſacred right* of ſovereignty, where that *impreſcriptible privilege* of chooſing their own government, with which ſhe promiſed to inveſt them? Inſtead of giving them freedom, has ſhe not robbed them of every veſtige of foreign independence and of domeſtic liberty? Inſtead of endowing them with ſovereignty, has ſhe not ſubjected them to the moſt abject and unqualified ſubmiſsion to her own arbitrary and capricious

capricious will? Inſtead of beſtowing on them happineſs, has ſhe not, by the moſt grinding oppreſsion, the moſt ſavage brutality, the moſt inſatiable rapacity, rent their hearts with anguiſh and deſpair? Whether, as beſt ſuited her purpoſe, ſhe has formally annexed them to her immediate domain, or has inſulted them with the title of free and independent Republics, has ſhe not ranſacked their property, ravaged their territories, drained their reſources, preyed upon their vitals, dragged the flower of their youth into her armies, and brought an equality of wretchedneſs upon all claſſes of ſociety? Nay, has ſhe not compelled them to kiſs the rod with which they were ſcourged, and to rivet their own chains?

Such has been the fate of every country which has hitherto fallen under the dominion of republican France. The triumphs of this friend and patron of the human race, who generouſly fought, not for conqueſt, but for the deliverance of mankind from bondage—"from the yoke of "dictators," have been every where marked with fury, vengeance, devaſtation, and ruin. Never before did Heaven employ ſo ſevere a ſcourge for the infliction of its vengeance on guilty man.

——"Nec ſævior ulla
"Peſtis et ira Deum ſtygiis ſeſe extulit undis."

One might almoſt think that the prophet had

theſe mercileſs invaders in his view when he ſaid, "The land is as the garden of Eden before them, "and behind them a deſolate wilderneſs."*

This picture, however, dark and gloomy as it is, conveys but a faint idea of the evils which mankind muſt experience, if the French Republic be ſuffered to vanquiſh all oppoſition, and to attain the undoubted object of her exertions, the power of revolutionizing the world. Her malice has hitherto evidently increaſed with her powers of miſchief, although, while the conteſt laſts, it is her intereſt to play the hypocrite, in countries where ſhe obtains an aſcendancy, leſt ſhe ſhould excite an univerſal ſpirit of reſiſtance, and enliſt all mankind in a league for her deſtruction. But ſhould the moment arrive when nothing ſhall remain to check her progreſs, it is not in the power of fancy to form an adequate idea of the ruin which would enſue. The whole amount of miſery, carnage, and devaſtation, by which the laſt ten years have been rendered the blackeſt portion in the hiſtory of man, would, in compariſon with what would follow the complete ſucceſs of the Republic, be but as a hurricane, or an earthquake, when compared with the diſſolution of nature itſelf—with "the wreck of matter, "and the cruſh of worlds." The mind recoils

* Joel, c. 2. v. 3.

from

from the contemplation of ſuch a ſcene. It is not in the human heart to encounter the apprehenſion of ſuch a cataſtrophe;—when the vaſt and ancient edifice of ſociety would be laid in ruins;—when no part of the habitable globe would afford any protection from violence and injuſtice—any ſanctuary for diſtreſs—any refuge from deſpair;—when all reſtraints of religion and morality would be ſwept away from the face of the earth;—when every kindred tie, every ſocial endearment, hitherto the ſolace of grief, the balm of affliction, would ſerve only to accumulate wretchedneſs, and to ſharpen the pangs of woe;—when all power would be ingroſſed by the moſt profligate of mankind, whoſe unceaſing contentions for ſuperiority would remain a conſtant ſource of the moſt violent convulſions, and of the moſt ſanguinary exceſſes;—and when the abſence of every thing that can train man to virtue, or reſtrain him from vice, would leave the human race to become more and more depraved, until the corruption of their moral ſtate would, at length, plunge them into ſuch a depth of barbariſm, that generations muſt paſs away, before they could regain the firſt ſtage of civilization.

Imagination is loſt in ſuch an unfathomable abyſs of miſery and deſtruction. The vaſt extent of human experience affords no example which enables the mind to form a judgment

reſpecting either the degree, or the duration of ſuch a calamity. The moſt violent revolutions, the moſt furious commotions, have hitherto ſpared, and even reſpected, the fundamental principles, which conſtitute the *ſtamina* of ſocial exiſtence, and which, like the great laws of nature, tend to heal and repair the ravages produced by occaſional and temporary convulſions. But thoſe principles are now attacked, as well as the formal inſtitutions in which they are embodied, and to which they give life and energy. The ruin, therefore, with which we are menaced is deep as the foundations, and extenſive as the confines of human ſociety.

Leſt, however, deſcription ſhould be ſuſpected of exaggeration, it may be proper to appeal to fact. The reader ſhall therefore be preſented with a few ſpecimens of the conduct which the French Republic, though yet in its infancy, has obſerved towards both the ſovereigns and people of other countries; and which will exhibit her not merely in the character of a conqueror, but of a friend and ally—not merely in a ſtate of war, but of profound peace, of declared neutrality, of boaſted and uninterrupted amity. It is ſcarcely poſsible, within the limits which the Author has aſsigned himſelf, to do juſtice to the Republic in all theſe relations. That would require a complete hiſtory of her foreign politics. But it is eaſy, even within ſuch limits,

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to give evidence, abundantly more than ſufficient to diſplay the character and deſigns of the Republic in their true point of view, and to convey a tolerable idea of the conſequences which mankind muſt expect, in caſe ſhe prove triumphant in the preſent conteſt. In the propoſed ſtatement, the internal ſufferings of France during the revolution will not be included, as they do not relate ſo immediately to the queſtion between the Republic and the reſt of the world. They are, however, too well known, not to have their due effect upon the mind. A revolution, which in ſo ſhort a ſpace, has, upon the moſt moderate computation, ſacrificed above a million of human lives by internal maſſacre and butchery, attended with unheard of inventions of brutal and ferocious cruelty, not to mention the almoſt incalculable deſtruction which it has produced by foreign war; or the ruin which it has cauſed to the commerce, manufactures, revenues, agriculture, and colonies, of one of the moſt flouriſhing kingdoms in the world*—ſuch a revolution muſt ſurely operate as a moſt inſtructive leſſon to the remoteſt poſterity. If the people of France have ſuffered ſo much, under the empire of its revolutioniſts, what muſt the ſtranger expect if that empire ſhould become univerſal?

* For details upon this ſubject, ſee "Tableau Hiſtorique et "Politique des pertes que la Revolution et la Guerre ont cauſée "aux peuple François," par Sir Francis D'Ivernois.

AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS.

ONE of the firſt countries overrun by the armies of the French Republic was the Auſtrian Netherlands. The approach of thoſe armies was preceded by a proclamation from the French generals, aſſuring the inhabitants, that the armies of the Republic entered their territories as friends and brothers; promiſing the people "full "and perfect liberty to chooſe whatever form of "government they thought beſt, without the "ſmalleſt reſtraint being impoſed upon them." After the conqueſt of theſe Provinces, commiſſioners were ſent, in purſuance of the then recent decrees of November 19, and December 15, to endow the people with liberty, equality, and French fraternity. One of thoſe commiſsioners, Publicola Chauſſard, gave an account of his miſsion in a letter (ſince publiſhed) to M. Le Brun; that Miniſter of the Republic, who declared, through M. Chauvelin, to Lord Grenville, that the decree of fraternity "could not have any "application unleſs to the ſingle caſe, in which "the *general will* of a nation, clearly and unequi-"vocally expreſſed, ſhould call the French nation "to its aſsiſtance and fraternity." Chauſſard, in his report to M. Le Brun, ſtated, that the aſ-

ſemblies

ſemblies of the people, which had been convened, contained a majority hoſtile to the principle of the decree of the 15th of December. It was to be expected, nevertheleſs, that ſuch majority would, in conformity to the explanations of M. Le Brun, and the aſſurances held forth by the above noticed proclamation, have been left "at full and perfect liberty to chooſe "whatever form of government they thought "beſt, without the ſmalleſt reſtraint." No ſuch thing. The ungrateful and contumacious aſſemblies, did not underſtand liberty ſo well as their new maſters, and were diſſolved for the purpoſe, as Mr. Commiſsioner Chauſſard expreſſes it, "of raiſing up the *minority*, and of deſtroy-"ing, or, at leaſt, counter-balancing an *anti-*"*patriotic majority*." For the Commiſsioner obſerves, "the will of a people in a ſtate of infan-"cy or imbecility would be null, becauſe it "would ſtipulate againſt themſelves." Therefore, the guardians or pedagogues of this infant and trembling people ſpoke for them, and declared it to be their free and unanimous will to be annexed to the French Republic.

Having thus eſtabliſhed French liberty in the Netherlands, the commiſsioners proceeded to beſtow, with a liberal hand, the ſweets of French fraternity, by levying immenſe contributions, by obliging the people to change their money for depreciated aſsignats, at par, by confiſcating the

the whole property of the Clergy, by putting every article neceſſary for the French armies into requiſition, and compelling the people to receive payment in aſsignats, by ſeizing the proviſions of ſuch farmers as refuſed to deliver them when ordered, and finally, by annexing the whole country to the great maſs and parent ſtock of anarchy—the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

THE arrival of the French armies in Holland was alſo preceded by a proclamation, in which theſe generous republicans declared, that they came as friends and allies; that they ſought not to terrify, but to inſpire confidence; that they came, not to make ſlaves, but to reſtore freedom and to preſerve independence; and they particularly promiſed, that perſonal ſafety ſhould be ſecured, and property protected. But between the promiſe and the performance, there was no ſmall diſtance. No ſooner were the Dutch towns occupied by the French troops, than a contribution was demanded for the army, of 200,000 quintals of wheat, 500,000 ratios of hay, 200,000 ratios of ſtraw, 500,000 buſhels of corn, 150,000 pair of ſhoes, 20,000 pair of boots, 20,000 coats and waiſtcoats, 40,000 pair

of

of breeches, 150,000 pair of pantaloons, 200,000 ſhirts, and 50,000 hats, to be furniſhed in one month; and 12,000 oxen to be ſupplied in two months. Having obtained this booty, as the firſt fruits of their friendſhip and aſsiſtance, inſtead of admitting the Dutch into that cloſe and intimate connection, with which they had indulged the Belgians, and which, with regard to the former, they probably thought would not be quite ſo favourable to their views of hoſtility againſt Great Britain, they formed with them an alliance, *offenſive* and defenſive; whereby the peace loving Hollanders were at once plunged into a war with this country. By virtue of this treaty of alliance, the United Provinces were obliged to cede to France two of their principal frontier towns, with the appendant territories, and one of their provinces; to receive French garriſons in caſe of war (which was a *certain* caſe) into three other of their ſtrongeſt frontier towns; and, both in peace and war, to admit a French garriſon into one of their principal ſea-ports—to give France the free navigation of one of their principal rivers—and to employ half their forces under French generals; and, as a price for all theſe valuable favours, they were to pay France one hundred millions of florins. It having been ſtipulated that 25,000 French troops ſhould be paid and *clothed* in Holland, it was artfully contrived

contrived to march them away, almoſt as ſoon as they were well clad, that others might be put in their place; and by this ingenious contrivance, 100,000, inſtead of 25,000, experienced the benefit of the ſtipulation. The province of Holland, ſince the arrival of the French troops, has been obliged to advance about 16 per cent. upon capital, and as much upon income. The firſt was by way of loan, at an intereſt of 2½ per cent.; upon which loan there is a loſs of 60 per cent. The per centage upon income was by way of contribution or tax, and was levied, as well as that on capital, in addition to the other exiſting taxes. Suppoſing the other ſix provinces to have been charged in the ſame proportion as Holland, the loſs of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, in conſequence of the fraternal viſit of the French, will not be leſs than 300 millions of florins—about twenty millions ſterling. This, however, is but a part of their loſſes. The pay of the 25,000 French troops quartered upon them, as ſtated by M. Mallet du Pan, in the Mercure Britanique, is about 14,000,000 livres, Tournois, per annum, excluſively of the expence of clothing thoſe troops in the manner hereinafter ſtated. The United Provinces were further indebted to their connection with the French Republic for the ruin of their commerce and their navy, and for the loſs of their colonies. Nor

ſhould

ſhould it be forgotten, that they have loſt, by the revolution of France, the whole of their property in the French funds, which amounted to many millions ſterling.

Perhaps it may be aſked, whether all theſe conceſsions and contributions (although far from being implied in the promiſes by which France prevented a timely reſiſtance to the firſt approaches of her troops, and although particularly ungrateful to the diſpoſitions of the Dutch) were not a very moderate compenſation for the invaluable privilege of chooſing their own government? But, alas! no ſuch privilege has been obtained by them; for, upon a convention being holden for this purpoſe, a large majority declared in favour of a federal republic: but this plan not meeting with the approbation of their French patrons, the latter ſilenced the majority, and impoſed a different ſyſtem, which, if not better for Holland, was at leaſt more ſuitable to the views of France. Since that time the people of theſe liberated provinces have been obliged to ſubmit in all things to the will of the Gallic dictators. The war, which was impoſed on them, has completely ruined thoſe reſources which French rapacity had left them only for the purpoſe of being employed againſt Great Britain; and they have been ſo completely fettered and manacled, as not only to be deprived of all power of attempting their own deliverance, but alſo to be diſabled

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from co-operating with that formidable force, which recently landed upon their coaſt, for the purpoſe of effecting their reſcue; and which, in conſequence of a ſeaſon the moſt adverſe to ſuch an enterprize within the memory of man, failed in its object, which otherwiſe, to judge from the ſucceſſes that were gallantly obtained, in ſpite of every obſtacle, there is abundant reaſon to conclude would have been completely effected. But although the allied forces engaged in this expedition could not, for the reaſon above aſsigned, advance ſo far as to afford the people an opportunity for co-operation, the conduct of the Dutch fleet, which joyfully and inſtantly accepted the offer of deliverance—that of the inhabitants of every place which has been enabled to avow, without a certainty of inſtant ruin, its real ſentiments—nay, even that of the Dutch army itſelf, although officered by perſons attached to the French cauſe, and ſurrounded, but not *truſted*, by a greatly ſuperior French force—all theſe circumſtances leave no doubt of the tranſports with which the people at large would have received their deliverance, if any doubt could exiſt whether human beings would rejoice at being freed from the power of the moſt mercileſs tyrants, that ever held in chains their fellow men.

SAVOY,

SAVOY, COUNTY OF NICE, AND PIEDMONT.

THE French Republic was not two months old when ſhe attacked the dominions of the King of Sardinia, a neutral prince. While her agent in England, M. Chauvelin, was urging in her name, thoſe profeſsions of a pacific and unambitious diſpoſition, and of a profound reſpect for neutral ſtates, in which the members of oppoſition contended that we ſhould repoſe confidence, her General, Monteſquiou, ſuddenly invaded and eaſily ſubdued Savoy; and her General Anſelm, in like manner got poſſeſsion of the county of Nice. It was, perhaps, expected by thoſe who gave credit to Republican ſincerity, that theſe territories, however unjuſtly wreſted from their lawful ſovereign, would, in conformity with the famous decree, by which regenerated France renounced all views of conqueſt, have been, at leaſt, declared free and independent. But their ſituation rendered them a moſt deſirable acquiſition to the Republic, and, indeed, neceſſary to her projected operations. Beſides, a petition for an union was preſented in their name to the Convention. How ſuch a petition was obtained it cannot be difficult to conjecture—but ſome of the conventional orators who ſupported it, did

not fail to urge, in its favour, the advantages which would be derived from the eſtates of the Church and of the emigrants. Such temptations were too ſtrong for republican virtue; and, in ſpite of the decree of renunciation, Savoy and Nice were annexed to France. But this inconſiſtency between profeſsion and practice did not make the Republic either leſs fervent or leſs frequent in her declarations of a love of peace, moderation, juſtice, and good faith; nor did it render her defenders in the Britiſh Parliament leſs reproachful of the Britiſh Government for not ſuffering itſelf to be the dupe of thoſe declarations.

By ſuch acts of unprovoked hoſtility was the King of Sardina forced into that coalition, which, afterwards, Great Britain, Holland, and divers other ſtates, were, by ſimilar means, compelled to join, and which was, nevertheleſs, denominated by factious men a combination of deſpots for the deſtruction of French Liberty. During three campaigns he ſucceſsfully reſiſted all the attacks of the French armies, which endeavoured to penetrate through Piedmont into Italy. But in the fourth campaign he was unſucceſsful in ſeveral engagements; and his Capital being threatened, inſtead of reſolving ſtrenuouſly to defend it, and to oppoſe, in conjunction with the Auſtrians, who were as much intereſted in its defence as himſelf, the farther progreſs of the

enemy, he reſolved to ſeek for ſafety in negociation. This unfortunate Prince firſt propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms; but this the French General refuſed, except on condition that two of the three fortreſſes, Coni, Aleſſandria, and Tortona, ſhould be delivered up at the option of his Majeſty. To this condition the King acceded as the only means of procuring an armiſtice; and the French Commiſsioner, Salicetti, on informing the Directory of the event, obſerved, that it "enſured Piedmont to France." The terms on which the King was allowed to purchaſe peace were ſtill more humiliating and diſaſtrous. The *abſolute* ceſsion of Savoy and Nice, the ſurrender of ſeveral of his principal fortreſſes, to be occupied by French troops until a *general peace*—the demolition of other fortreſſes on the frontier of France, with an engagement not to eſtabliſh or repair any other fortification on that frontier—a free paſſage to the French troops through the ſtates of his Majeſty into the interior of Italy—an entire amneſty to all his ſubjects, who had been proſecuted for political opinions—that is, to all conſpirators againſt his Government. Such were the conditions on which a Sovereign Prince was permitted, by the humane, moderate, unaſpiring Republic, to terminate a war, which ſhe had unjuſtly commenced by the ſeizure and appropriation of part of his dominions. This treaty of peace was followed by

an alliance offenſive and defenſive, by which the King was bound to furniſh 10,000 infantry, 1000 cavalry, and 40 pieces of cannon, to his worſt enemy, the French Republic, and againſt his natural friend, the Emperor of Germany.

It remained for his Sardinian Majeſty to taſte the ſweets of Republican Peace, which he had purchaſed at ſo high a price, and to experience the honour and gratitude of France, who improved the advantages ſhe derived from the above treaty, by the immediate conqueſt of Lombardy. To maintain the newly formed relations of concord, amity, and good neighbourhood, a French Ambaſſador, named Guinguené, aſsiſted by General Brune, appeared at his court. Theſe Miniſters of Peace endeavoured to excite an inſurrection, by means of ſome hundreds of French and Italian ruffians, who were gradually brought for that purpoſe into Piedmont. The banditti were diſperſed, ſeveral of them killed, and others taken priſoners by the King's troops, while the people took occaſion from the commotion to diſplay their loyalty to their Sovereign. Brune and Guinguené, although the experiment had miſcarried as to its main object, did not fail to make it ſubſervient to their purpoſes. They offered their aſsiſtance to preſerve the public tranquillity; but as the price of their protection, they demanded an amneſty for the impriſoned inſurgents, whoſe cauſe they otherwiſe threatened

tened to aſsiſt; they required the King to diſmiſs his moſt faithful and zealous ſervants; and to admit a French garriſon into the citadel of Turin.

The unfortunate Monarch, who was not in a condition to refuſe any thing that his ally might chuſe to preſcribe, was obliged to ſubmit to theſe propoſals. One hundred and fifteen of the hired banditti were liberated from priſon, in conſequence of the interference of the Ambaſſador. Of that number ſixty-ſix were found to be French, only ſeven Piedmonteſe, and the reſt Italians. This diſcovery alone would clearly point out the firſt cauſe of the commotion; and as little doubt can remain, that if the firmneſs of the troops had not defeated the project (as the author of the Mercure Britannique has well obſerved), the incendiaries would have been ready to demand, in the name of the people, a National Aſſembly, of which the firſt decree would have been the dethronement of the Monarch, and the abolition of the monarchy.—— *See Merc. Brit.*

It was not to the generoſity of the Republic that the King was indebted for the continuance of his nominal dignity, till the cloſe of the year 1798. He held his Crown, it is true, if a Crown it could be called, by the ſufferance of the Directory; but their permitting him to retain it was one of thoſe artifices, which their ſituation with regard to other powers, and their dread of

exciting a new coalition, rendered expedient. They, therefore, contented themſelves with ſecuring their victim, until they might devour him with ſafety. They had even the duplicity to treat him with a ſhew of moderation, which, perhaps, led him and his friends to hope that "the bitterneſs of death was paſſed." In this, however, they but reſembled the crocodile weeping over its prey.

In December, 1798, General Joubert with a French army ſuddenly entered Piedmont. The capital was incapable of defence againſt an enemy, who already had poſſeſsion of the citadel. His Majeſty, therefore, had no alternative but to ſubſcribe an act of abdication, which was preſented to him by the Adjutant-General of Joubert.

The Republican Rulers of France did not fail, according to their cuſtom, to charge this unhappy Prince with having drawn down this vengeance upon his own head, by a variety of offences, and, particularly, by having concerted with the King of Naples the attack made by the latter upon the Roman territories, then occupied by a French army. On this queſtion it has been judiciouſly obſerved, that on the "23d of No-
"vember, the Neapolitans deſcended the Ap-
"pennines; and on the 5th of December Ge-
"neral Joubert entered Piedmont: it was but
"juſt poſsible that the Directory, apprized of

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" the hoſtilities commenced in the ſtates of the " church, ſhould have time to order Joubert to " march into Piedmont. For that purpoſe it " was neceſſary that neither the Council of the " Luxembourg, nor the two Couriers, ſhould " loſe a minute. A diligence ſo very extra- " ordinary is leſs feaſible than a ſuppoſition that " Joubert acted in conſequence of previous in- " ſtructions, which provided for the caſe of a " rupture in Italy."—*Merc. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 108. It is much more likely that the Directorial tyrants of France had choſen this moment for an attack upon the King of Naples himſelf, as well as for the long-premeditated cataſtrophe in Piedmont—and that his Neapolitan Majeſty only anticipated their deſigns by commencing hoſtilities. This, however, it is acknowledged, is merely conjecture. But, as the author above quoted remarks, the beſt poſsible evidence that this unhappy Prince was without any intelligence of the deſigns of the King of Naples is, that he was not even apprized of a movement ſo dangerous to his own ſafety, and that he had neglected all precaution and all preparation againſt ſuch an event.—*Ibid.* p. 106. Beſides, he was totally abandoned by the Auſtrians, who did not in the leaſt attempt to occupy the attention of the French army in Lombardy.

Having, at the requiſition of his *friend* and *ally*, renounced the Throne of his anceſtors, the

unfortunate Prince was obliged that ſame night, and in the moſt inclement weather, to quit the capital of his dominions. It is difficult to ſay who had the ſtrongeſt claim to pity, the degraded Prince, ſtripped of his dignity, and torn from his country and his people, or his ſubjects, whoſe cries and lamentations on his departure denoted their deep ſenſe of *his* misfortunes and of *their own*. After being detained above two months in Tuſcany, and treated with inſult and brutality by a French keeper, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed, he was at length allowed to ſail, on the 24th of February, in a French veſſel, for Sardinia.

THE POPE, AS SOVEREIGN OF AVIGNON, THE VENAISSIN, AND THE ROMAN TERRITORIES.

THIS Prince was one of the firſt who experienced the rapacity, injuſtice, and ambition of the French revolutioniſts. The province of Avignon, ſituated in Provence, and the Comtat Venaiſsin, between Provence and Dauphiny, had been ceded to the Roman See, the former above four centuries, and the latter ſix centuries ſince. Though ſurrounded by French territory they had been reſpected by the French monarchs, during all that period, except in three inſtances,

inſtances, when Louis the XIVth. twice, and Louis XV. once, took poſſeſsion of them for a time, to enſure the redreſs of ſome grievances of which they complained. But the new revolutionary rulers, calling themſelves a National Aſſembly, were leſs ſcrupulous. They diſcovered ſo early as the year 1791, while the unfortunate Louis XVI. exhibited, amid the ruins of his throne, a phantom of royalty, and before the breaking out of the war, that theſe diſtricts were in point of ſituation, climate, productions, &c. deſirable for France; and they had no difficulty in finding ſome defects in the Pope's title, which had eſcaped the penetration of the French monarchs. The new diſpenſers with all ancient rights wanted no better pretexts to found a claim, but they purſued that claim, as uſual, under covert of popular incitement and commotion, and of a pretended ſolicitude for the privileges and welfare of the people. The friends of French liberty raiſed an inſurrection, in which the old magiſtrates were proſcribed, and the forms of the French Conſtitution were adopted. Jourdan, ſirnamed *Coupe tête*, one of the moſt ferocious aſſaſsins in the ſervice of the French Revolution, arrived from Paris and put himſelf at the head of a ſet of banditti, who perpetrated the moſt ſhocking maſſacres. Under the influence of the terror thus excited, aſſemblies were called to diſcuſs the queſtion of an union with

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France. This queſtion, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, was declared to be carried, although a very ſmall proportion of the people voted for it; and deputies from Avignon ſoon appeared at the bar of the National Aſſembly, to offer the union of that city. Matters were not, however, yet ripe for ſuch a meaſure, in the very face of a recent decree, renouncing, on the part of France, all acceſsion of territory. The torch of diſcord which had been thus lighted in thoſe unhappy provinces, ſoon flamed out in all the horrors of civil war. Under the pretence of reſtoring quiet, the Aſſembly diſpatched Commiſsioners, who countenanced Jourdan and his ruffians, procured them the eſtabliſhment of regular pay, and ſecured them an aſcendancy, which inſpired the inhabitants with conſternation. They alſo called in a French force collected from the neighbouring departments, which had already taken a decided and violent part in the queſtion of the union. The diſtricts, or *communautés*, were aſſembled to give their final vote on that queſtion; menaces of deſtruction were thrown out againſt all who ſhould manifeſt the leaſt deſire of remaining under the dominion of the Pope, or who ſhould even pronounce his name. The outrages were renewed. The ſanguinary Jourdan, after numerous acts of ſingle butchery, collected together a great number of wretched victims, and completed the ſum of his iniquity by one of the

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moſt horrid maſſacres which have been produced by the French Revolution. The National Aſſembly now thought it time to decree the long projected union, under the pretext of putting a ſtop to miſeries of which that Aſſembly was the primary cauſe, and the progreſs of which it favoured by its intrigues, until they arrived at ſuch a height, that the accompliſhment of its original purpoſe of ambition and injuſtice, ſeemed to be really an act of favour and humanity*.

The Italian dominions belonging to the Holy See were protected by their ſituation until the peace, by which the King of Sardinia ſealed his own ruin, and opened a paſſage for the Republican arms into Lombardy. Thoſe arms, after taking poſſeſsion of Milan, ſeized upon Leghorn, notwithſtanding the neutrality of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and in defiance of the laws of nations, the records of which are too "muſty and worm-eaten" to be reſpected by French revolutioniſts †. To drive the Engliſh from that

* For a more particular account of theſe perfidious and cruel tranſactions, ſee the Annual Regiſter for 1792, p. 223. *et ſeq.*

† Citizen Genet, the Ambaſſador of the French Republic in America, openly boaſted, that he had long ſince forgotten, what was contained in the worm-eaten volumes of Vattel, Grotius, and Puffendorf. And, in the ſame ſpirit, M. Tilly, French Chargé des

that city, and to confiſcate their property, were the pretexts aſsigned for this daring and atrocious act; and thus an open avowal was made, that the rights of ſovereignty, of independence, and neutrality, afford no ſecurity whatever againſt the rapacity of a ſet of free-booters, who, while they affect to be the champions of the oppreſſed, maintain their inexorable tyranny by robbery and plunder. The French army then entered the ſtates of the church, and took poſſeſsion of Bologna, Ferrara, and Urbino. The King of Naples having, in a moſt unexpected manner, made peace with the French Republic, the Pope agreed to an armiſtice on very diſadvantageous terms. But upon the ſubſequent negociations for a peace, the demands of France were not only too exorbitant, in a temporal point of view, to be ſubmitted to, but in complying with them, the ſovereign Pontiff muſt have ſacrificed his conſcience, his religion, and that apoſtolical character which is recognized in him by all members of the Roman church. He was even required to recal all the remonſtrances, declarations, and edicts, by which he had endeavoured to preſerve the Church of which he was the ac-

des Affaires at Genoa, in a controverſy with the Genoeſe Secretary, who referred to the laws of nations, ſaid, "he did not acknowledge, as public laws, papers drawn up under the authority of Kings."

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knowledged head, from the attacks of the enemy of all religion—the French Revolution: nay, he was further called upon to declare, that all ſuch public acts, were contrary to his real intentions.

It muſt command the applauſe of every one who has any ſenſe of religion, whatever faith he may profeſs; nay, of every one who entertains any reſpect for the dictates of honour and of conſcience, to behold Pius the VIth. ſpurning ſuch infamous propoſals, and prefering all the dangers of war, to a peace procured by a ſacrifice of his principles, and a violation of his ſacred character. That execrable General, who by his unparalelled baſeneſs, perfidy, and cruelty, has proved himſelf the fitteſt Commander that has yet appeared to head the armies of the French Republic; but who, becauſe he had diſplayed great perſonal courage, is viewed by many with ſtupid admiration, and, by the moſt ſcandalous proſtitution of the term, denominated a hero; that vile hypocrite, who profeſſed to become a Muſſulman, that he might delude the wretched Egyptians, and render them inſtrumental to their own deſtruction; that Corſican uſurper, who has completed the merited degradation of the French people by ſubjecting them to the yoke of a foreigner, wrote an inſolent letter to Cardina Matthei, urging the acceptance of the conditions

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tions of peace propoſed by France to the Holy See; menacing with ruin and death all who ſhould oppoſe any obſtacles to the Republican forces; and declaring (with great truth indeed) that the war, cruel as it was for the people, would be moſt terrible to the vanquiſhed. To this letter, the Cardinal, in the name of the Pontiff, replied, that his Holineſs had employed his utmoſt endeavours to preſerve the peace of Chriſtendom, and to recover by gentle means, the only ones which he thought himſelf authoriſed to uſe, the children of the church from their wanderings. That he had prepared himſelf, in conformity with the ſame principles, to make conſiderable ſacrifices for the ſake of peace; but that the French Government, blinded by ſucceſs, and abuſing its proſperity, not ſatisfied with having ſheared the ſheep quite cloſe, but ſeeking to devour it, inſiſted that the Pope ſhould ſacrifice his own ſoul, and that of the people entruſted to his care, by demanding from him the ſubverſion and the total deſtruction of the very baſis of the Chriſtian religion, of the morals and diſcipline of the church; and that the death with which the General ſought to intimidate him, was the commencement of eternal happineſs to the righteous, but to the wicked the termination of proſperity, and the beginning of their ſufferings.

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The abundant occupation which the war with the Emperor, and particularly the ſiege of Mantua, afforded the French army, preſerved for the preſent the ſtates of the church from farther attack. But ſeveral important victories gained over the Imperial forces enabled another Republican army to advance againſt Rome in the beginning of the year 1797 *. The Pope was allowed to purchaſe a peace by the abſolute ceſsion of Avignon and the country of Venaiſſin—by the ſurrender of his three moſt productive legations, Ferrara, Bologna, and Romana—by a contribution of the moſt valuable of thoſe pictures, ſtatues, and works of art, which were the pride of Rome, and the admiration of the

* The principal part of the following narration is related upon the authority of Mr. Duppa's "Journal of the moſt remarkable occurrences that took place in Rome upon the ſubverſion of the Eccleſiaſtical Government in 1798," a very intereſting work; and, however unfavourable to the French, entitled to full credit, as its author acknowledges himſelf to have been prejudiced in favour at leaſt of their theories, until the evidence of his own ſenſes corrected his ideas upon the ſubject. He very candidly ſays, "It was when the French were at the gates of Rome that "I myſelf looked with anxious, though clouded expectation, "for the realizing thoſe theories of Republican virtue that had "ſometimes ſerved to amuſe the ſpeculations of a leiſure hour." It is to be lamented, that a report of the evidence which undeceived Mr. Duppa reſpecting French theories ſhould not be in general circulation, that it might, in like manner, undeceive many others. But the expenſive manner in which this little tract is publiſhed, and the high price it bears, muſt operate almoſt as a prohibition againſt its getting into thoſe hands where it would be moſt uſeful.

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world; and he was indebted for permiſsion to reſpire a little longer, as a ſovereign Prince, to the neceſsity which Buonaparte was under of ſtill making head againſt the Archduke Charles. That General, therefore, after ſecuring his ſpoils, abandoned for the moment his intended and long-wiſhed-for prey, and declared himſelf the protector of the Church. But the Directors of the French Republic purſue their ſchemes of ſubverſion, by peace as well as by war, againſt their friends as well as their enemies—nay, peace and friendſhip afford them peculiar opportunities for that purpoſe. They attempted in Rome the ſame game of ambaſſadorial inſurrection which they had played in Sardinia. Joſeph Buonaparte, a brother of the General, and the Miniſter of the Republic to the Holy See, began his fraternal miſsion with procuring the liberation of all perſons, who, in revolutionary language, were confined in priſon for their political opinions—that is to ſay, being tranſlated, of all confined traitors, or "acquitted felons," whoſe lives were due to juſtice, for their conſpiracies againſt their Sovereign. The Ambaſſador's palace became the receptacle of all perſons of this deſcription, and the ſchool for making converts to their cauſe. J. Buonaparte was the patron of a Fête, which, under the title of a Feaſt of Liberty, was made the pretext for aſſembling the moſt worthleſs and diſaffected perſons

perſons in Rome: various attempts were made to diſturb the public quiet; " ſuch as erecting poles " with red caps upon them, and dancing round " them at midnight; organizing the malecon- " tents into falſe patroles, to throw into con- " fuſion the regular guards of the city." And, at length, Innocents'-day was fixed on for the grand effort which had been concerted to overturn the Papal authority.

On the evening of that day ſome perſons aſſembled before the Ambaſſador's palace, whence French cockades were given to all who would accept them; and a perſon, known to be a Frenchman, was ſeen diſtributing money among the populace. As the mob increaſed they were addreſſed with harangues, intimating that the time was come to overthrow the exiſting government. Theſe daring outrages were at once favoured and explained, by the circumſtance of the Ambaſſador having an excluſive juriſdiction, totally independent of the control of government, in his own palace and its immediate vicinity. Thus protected, the malecontents, conceiving themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to commence their operations, began by taking poſſeſsion of ſome guard-houſes, and ſeizing the arms. Advancing to ſecure the bridge called Ponte Seſto, they were oppoſed by a patrole of horſe, which obliged them to retreat to the neighbourhood of the palace, whither they were purſued

by the military. If matters had gone on ſmoothly, it may be ſuppoſed that the Ambaſſador would not have appeared, until the ſovereign people (*alias* the hired mob) had exerciſed their impreſcriptible right of diſmiſsing their old government, when he would probably have interpoſed, to ſave them the trouble of chooſing a new one. But the inauſpicious buſtle, which announced the failure of the firſt attempt, brought J. Buonaparte with ſome attendants, into the midſt of the crowd; and General Duphot, one of thoſe attendants, while calling out to the cavalry that he might ſpeak to their commanding officer, fell an accidental victim to the promiſcuous firing, to which the ſoldiers were obliged to have recourſe, in order to diſperſe a mob that had been guilty of the moſt illegal acts.

After this cataſtrophe, every attempt to pacify the Ambaſſador was found ineffectual; and, under the pretence that his perſon was not ſafe, he quitted Rome the next morning with his *ſuite*.

If any thing could be wanting to throw a light upon theſe tranſactions, it would be ſufficient for that purpoſe to ſtate that the Ciſalpines, who were entirely under the control and direction of France, had, for ſome weeks before, been committing acts of hoſtility againſt the Eccleſiaſtical State; but immediately after the depar-

ture of the Ambaſſador, their agency being no longer wanted, they diſcontinued their attacks, abandoned the conqueſts they had made, and retired within their own territory.

A French army ſoon appeared at the gates of Rome, to avenge the inſult which the Republic had ſuſtained in the death of a man, who fell a victim to a tumult, which had been excited by the French party for the worſt of purpoſes. The General, Berthier, conceiving, no doubt, that an army of 15,000 men might expect much reſiſtance in the attack of a city containing above 160,000 inhabitants, animated by religious enthuſiaſm, and exaſperated by the cruelties of the French* in Italy, had recourſe to Gallic perfidy. He ſignified to the Pope, that he was ordered to abſtain from pillage, and to ſuffer the Papal government to continue; and that his only object was to apprehend the murderers of Duphot. He required that nothing ſhould be removed from the Muſeum, Libraries, or Galleries, the ſecurity of which he guaranteed. Upon theſe aſſurances, and at his ſuggeſtion, the Pope iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting his ſubjects, upon pain of death, from giving offence, either by word or deed, to any individual

* The claſs of people called Traſteverini had propoſed, during the former hoſtilities between the Pope and the Republic, to raiſe 8000 men to defend their religion and their country.

of the French nation, and commanding them to ſhew every mark of urbanity to all ſuch perſons; intimating, that upon their obſervance of the deportment which he preſcribed, depended their peace and ſecurity. On the 10th of February, the caſtle of St. Angelo was, upon ſummons, delivered to the Republican forces, who took poſſeſsion of the gates of the city, and made the Pope and the Cardinals (three only excepted) priſoners. The French General then, according to the cuſtom of French Generals, aſſured, by proclamation, the people of the Eccleſiaſtical State, that their perſons, property, and religion, ſhould be reſpected. In a few days he made a triumphal entry into Rome, and paid homage, in the name of the French nation, to the ſhades of Cato, Pompey, Brutus, Cicero, and Hortenſius; reminding the Roman people, that in re-acquiring their legitimate rights, they already felt what blood it was that flowed in their veins. He alſo declared, that "the Roman people were again entered into "the rights of ſovereignty, poſſeſsing the go-"vernment of ancient Rome, and conſtituting "a Roman Republic;" that, he acknowledged the Roman Republic to be independent, and put it under the ſpecial protection of the French army; that he recognized the proviſional government, which had been propoſed by the ſovereign people; that, in conſequence, the old

Government

Government of the Pope was ſuppreſſed; and, in order that the new government ſhould be well arranged, he would take the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure the happineſs of the Roman people.

Under the new ſyſtem, which was introduced in direct violation of the General's engagements, it was not likely that the Pope ſhould receive the honours which were due to his former rank; but he was ſurely entitled to be treated with humanity, and even with reſpect; and, indeed, he ſeems to have no weak claim to the generoſity of his conquerors. But no ſuch claims have any force in the eyes of French Republicans. The moment choſen for planting the Tree of Liberty in the capital was that, in which his Holineſs, ſeated on his Throne, was receiving, upon the anniverſary of his exaltation to the Papal chair, the uſual congratulations of the Cardinals. While in that ſituation, that nothing might be wanting to ſharpen his ſufferings, a Calviniſt, named Haller, was fixed upon to inform him, that his reign was at an end. His guards were almoſt immediately diſmiſſed, and their places ſupplied by French troops. The ſeals were fixed upon the Muſeum and Galleries, and their contents declared to be confiſcated. The Pope's apartments were ſearched; and his private library, collected by himſelf, and which had long been his chief amuſement, was ſold

before his eyes, and in ſpite of his remonſtrances. One of the French Commiſſaries, who examined his cabinet, ſeized an urn, which was found to contain ſnuff. "What," aſked the mild Pontiff "do you deprive me of my ſnuff?"—"It is very "good," replied the Commiſſary; "I ſhall keep "it for myſelf." With like brutality, Haller entered his room one day when he was at dinner, and ſeating himſelf with his hat on, told the Pope he was come to receive his treaſures. "I "have nothing left me," replied his Holineſs, "by the peace of Tolentino."—"You have "two rings on your fingers," ſaid the Secretary. His Holineſs delivered one of them, ſaying—"The other muſt go to my ſucceſſor." Haller inſiſted on taking it. It was the ring of the Fiſherman, of little intrinſic value, and was therefore returned the following day.

It was known to be the firſt wiſh of the aged Pontiff to die at the feet of the Apoſtles; he therefore choſe rather to remain a priſoner at Rome, than to quit that city. This purpoſe, however, did not ſuit the views of his infidel enemies; they therefore began with making his reſidence uncomfortable; and, in a few days after they obtained poſſeſsion of the city, they made barracks of his palace, confined him to his own apartments, and put the ſeals of confiſcation upon his property. At length it was reſolved, that he ſhould be compelled to depart;

and

and the cruelty of such an intimation was heightened by its being made through Haller. "I "am 81 years of age," replied the Pope; "I "have been for two months in hourly expec- "tation of death, and am now only in a con- "valescent state; besides, I cannot quit my "people nor my duty. I beg I may be per- "mitted to die here."—"You shall die else- "where," replied the Fiend. In forty-eight hours the venerable Pontiff was hurried into a carriage, Haller tormenting him to the last moment by calling out, "Quick! quick! "make haste!" Nor was he suffered, without further insult, to lose sight of his capital; but while he was travelling, his guards pointed out to him the steeple of St. Peter's. He was conducted to Florence; and, after being buffeted about through different parts of Italy, he was, upon the re-conquest of that country in the last year, dragged into France, where he ended a life, the close of which had been embittered by a wanton and insulting barbarity, of which none but French Republicans are capable. Martyrdom would have been merciful compared with the sufferings which he was made to endure*.

The fate of the people of Rome was scarcely more enviable than that of their Sovereign, when

* Several of the foregoing facts are not to be found in Mr. Duppa's work; but they are equally well authenticated.

they brought to underſtand the French meaning of the terms Sovereignty of the People, and Reſpect for Perſons and Property. Soon after the French had taken poſſeſsion of Rome, they entered the houſes of all who had any employment under the government, accepted preſents, and put the ſeals upon every thing worth confiſcation. Upon the departure of the Pope, the Vatican palace was entirely ſtripped. Not the moſt trifling article was left; and holes were broken through the walls and partitions of each apartment, in order to aſcertain that nothing was concealed. During a mutiny which broke out among the French officers for want of pay, they publiſhed a declaration, in which they talked of "the rapine committed in Rome by dignified monſters and corrupt adminiſtrators, who were day and night plunged in luxury and debauchery." That part of the *ſovereign* people called the Traſtevere, ſought, by inſurrection, to avail themſelves of the opportunity, which the above mutiny ſeemed to afford, to rid themſelves of the company of their uninvited viſitors, of whom they were completely tired, and of their new government, which they did not approve. But they were quelled with ſlaughter; and twenty-nine of them, who were taken priſoners, were put to death. The example ſpreading to ſome towns in the neighbourhood of Rome, the inhabitants, when aſſembled in a plain to expreſs their *real* will,

will, which they had been told ſhould be ſupreme, were ſurrounded, and almoſt the whole of them deſtroyed, and the towns were ſacked, and every moveable contained in them was brought to the Capital, and there publicly ſold. In further explanation of the people's ſovereignty a law was paſſed, making it death, with confiſcation of property, to conſpire, in word or deed, againſt the conſtituted authority, or even to conceal the diſaffection of another perſon.

The promiſe made by the French to reſpect the Religion of the Romans was kept with as much fidelity as that which reſpected their perſons and property. A monaſtery, called the Convertiti, an inſtitution ſimilar to the Magdalen of London, was firſt diſſolved, and the building made uſe of as a priſon for ſome of the Cardinals. The Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh eſtabliſhments, of a Religious kind, were next aboliſhed; and afterwards thirty-one monaſteries ſhared the ſame fate, and their incomes were appropriated to the uſe of the government. The inſtitution of the "*Propaganda Fide*" was too incompatible with the propagation of the French anti-chriſtian ſyſtem to be allowed to eſcape; its college was converted into a warehouſe for confiſcated property, and its types and printing preſſes were ſent to France, together with the profeſſors, ſtudents, and printers of the Oriental languages, who were appointed to accompany Buonaparte to Egypt,

and

and its revenues were applied to the uſe of the French Academy at Rome.

In conformity with the levelling doctrine of Equality, the Princes and Nobles were obliged to ſerve as private ſoldiers; and one corps, in which the Duke di Montelibretto and ſeveral other Noblemen appeared in the ranks, was commanded by a man who had juſt before been a ſeller of tripe and dog's-meat. However, the zeal of French Philoſophers is not ſo ardent or ſo pure as to prevent them from bartering even their principles for lucre. They made a law, providing that any individual might be exempted from perſonal duty, by paying into the military cheſt a ſum of money, bearing a proportion to his income. According to this law, a proprietor, having 10,000 crowns a year and upwards, was to pay about £.10 per month, and ſo in proportion for a revenue of leſs amount.

To perfect the Roman people in the ſcience of French Liberty a *Conſtitutional Society* was inſtituted. Here the youth were initiated in the rudiments of Jacobiniſm, and taught that their ſocial duties ſhould yield to their love for the Republic;—that all the affections, which were the firſt and the ſtrongeſt impulſes of the heart, ſhould be ſubordinate to patriotiſm;—that the example of Brutus, whoſe buſt was ever in their view, ſhould animate them to prefer the calls of juſtice to the deareſt ties of kindred;—and that

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it would be a moſt meritorious virtue to ſacrifice parents and relations, whenever the welfare of the country might require ſuch a ſacrifice. By thus extinguiſhing the affections that attach individuals to each other in the firmeſt bonds, the heart was rendered obdurate and unfeeling, and prepared for the perpetration of the greateſt atrocities.

A motion was accordingly made to diſpoſe of all the Prieſts, by ſending them down the Tiber in veſſels which ſhould be ſunk, according to the precedent made by Carrièr on the Loire; and to put to death all men who were above 60 years of age, as ſuch men were ſuppoſed to be inſeparably wedded to their prejudices. But as this motion was made before time had been given to obliterate all the feelings of nature in the Aſſembly, it was for that ſeaſon rejected. However, the newly conſtituted authority, in ſome meaſure, made amends for the weakneſs of the juvenile and unfledged Jacobins, in regard to the prieſts, by iſſuing an edict, that all the foreign clergy, as well ſecular as regular, ſhould be ſent away; and that the native clergy, who were ſuffered to remain, ſhould be reſponſible for the peaceable conduct of the neighbourhood in which they reſided; ſo that they were liable to be tried for their lives if any inſurrection took place, although they had no concern in it.

Beſides the entire confiſcation of the property of the Pope, of ſeveral of the Cardinals,

of

of Noblemen who retired from the ſtorm, or, being abſent, did not chuſe to return, and of public, and, particularly, of religious inſtitutions, the Gallic reſpecters of property diſplayed great ingenuity in collecting contributions from private individuals. Mr. Duppa obſerves, that it would be almoſt impoſsible to detail the inſtances of this ſort, "as the acts for raiſing money were not publiſhed openly, as other decrees, but ſent privately to the houſes of individuals."

The French General began by impoſing a tax of 3 per cent. upon the full value of every man's *eſtate* throughout the whole territory of the Roman Republic, and by granting the Conſuls an unlimited authority of taxing the poſſeſſors of *money*. "From this moment," the ſame writer obſerves, "all private property, which had been made ſacred and inviolable, was openly, and without reſerve, given up to the mercy and diſcretion of arbitrary and deſpotic power; and within a fortnight after the law was publiſhed, a tradeſman," whom Mr. D. knew, "in the Corſino, had actually paid, at three ſeparate demands, 3500 crowns." And a celebrated engraver, named Volgata, had a *third* demand made on him of no leſs a ſum than 12,000 crowns, to be paid in 48 hours. While the wealthy were thus degraded and plundered, the condition of the poor was very far from being meliorated.

The pillage to which their ſuperiors were ſubjected, inſtead of being applied to their relief, or the public benefit, was ſent out of the country to enrich the plunderers and their adherents in France; and the labouring claſs were reduced to the greateſt indigence by the impoveriſhment of thoſe on whom they depended for ſubſiſtence.

Although artiſts of every country had received repeated aſſurances of protection, notwithſtanding their country might be at war with France, yet they were ſubjected to the rigorous law of confiſcation, and whatever, by the moſt forced conſtruction, could be conſidered as belonging to an enemy of the Republic, was ſeized. A very curious inſtance of this ſpecies of rapine is related in Mr. Duppa's work, Page 140. 2d Edition.

The experience of Rome affords an example of the manner in which the French Republic confers the benefits of independence on thoſe ſtates, which ſhe pretends to inveſt with that privilege. Immediately after the overthrow of the Papal authority, Rome was declared a free and independent government; and, in the firſt inſtance, to adminiſter that government, men of ſome character and reſpectability were appointed. Thoſe men, however, ſoon found that they had ſcarcely the ſhadow of authority. "They were made uſe of only to ſhew where, and in what, conſiſted the little remaining wealth of the ſtate, and politely compelled to give their

aſſent

aſſent that that little might be taken from it." They were alſo obliged to exerciſe their privilege of iſſuing edicts, in "oppreſsing the people beyond all example, of even the greateſt deſpotiſm of ancient times." Such men, having accompliſhed the purpoſes for which they were appointed, were compelled to make room for others, who, by *preſents*, procured a nomination to the vacant places. The individuals who diſpoſed of thoſe places, thus enriched themſelves; and Generals and Commiſſaries divided the ſpoil. At length, when nothing more was to be obtained, and artifice had exhauſted every reſource, the maſk was thrown away. Liberty was declared dangerous to the ſafety of the Republic, and the Conſtituted Authority incapable of managing the affairs of the ſtate. The mockery of conſular dignity was put an end to, the ſenators ſent home to take care of their families, and the tribunes to mix again with the people. The agents of the new ſyſtem began their operations with the ſeizure of the whole annual revenue of every eſtate producing more than 10,000 crowns, two-thirds of every eſtate that yielded more than 5,000, but leſs than 10,000, and one-half of every inferior income.

Such (according to the report of Mr. Duppa, who at one time was—by his own acknowledgement!—ſmitten with French "theories of Republican virtue") was the conduct of France to a people

people, to whoſe firſt envoy Citizen (Vincent Juſtiniani) Merlin, then Preſident of the Directory, declared "that the Executive Directory "delighted to occupy itſelf with the deareſt "intereſts of the Roman Republic, and would "cauſe it to enjoy all the bleſsings which liberty "promiſes to thoſe who cheriſh it. Your citizens," continued the benevolent Director, "have relied "upon the ſupport of the Great Nation. Tell "them, that they are not deceived, and that it is "not in vain that the French Generals have pro-"claimed their rights from the ſummit of the "capitol, invoking, at the ſame time, the ſacred "ſhades of the heroes who repoſe within its cir-"cle."

THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

Of all the nations upon earth, the United States of North America had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to expect uninterrupted concord and, indeed, friendſhip with the French Republic. Their remoteneſs from the continent of Europe, their form of government, their want of a navy, their total eſtrangement from all queſtions of European politics, muſt have preſerved them from becoming, in any reſpect, objects of jealouſy or ſuſpicion to the Republic, notwithſtanding her extreme and morbid irritability. Beſides, they had conferred upon her the moſt ſignal benefits. They had

had nourished her in her infant state by their commerce, and they had sustained her, in time of famine, by their provisions. They had espoused her cause with ardour, at least, as far as was consistent with their neutrality towards other states, and, perhaps, still farther. They had hailed the Revolution, as the dawn of liberty in France; they had professed the warmest friendship for the Republic, even when she was perpetrating crimes which are too horrid for recital; they had avowed the most ardent wishes for her success against her enemies, though, at that very moment, their own best friends; they had openly celebrated her triumphs by rejoicings; and they had, in every posible way, testified their public regard, and their private affection. In return for all this, they asked no more than to be suffered to enjoy, undisturbed, the common and undoubted rights of neutral and independent states. If they were denied the gratification of this wish, what stronger proof can exist that the French Republic is essentially and irreconcileably hostile to the safety and independence of every country in the world?

To ascertain the real conduct of France towards the United States, which had such strong claims on its affection and its gratitude, the reader is not desired to rely on European testimony, nor even on that of any American, who can be suspected of partiality or prejudice against the Republic.

public. The evidence which ſhall be adduced upon this ſubject, is that of an American gentleman of the firſt talents and reſpectability, who has prefaced a moſt able diſquiſition on the diſpute between the United States and France, with the following obſervations.

" Permit me, fellow-citizens," (addreſsing himſelf to his countrymen) " to introduce my " remarks on this ſubject by a declaration, " to the truth whereof moſt of you can bear " witneſs, permit me to declare, that while " France appeared to be engaged in a ſtruggle " for liberty and national independence, no heart " beat higher than mine with affection for her " cauſe. I joined with *enthuſiaſm* in the *gene-* " *ral exultation of my country* for her victories; " mourned for her diſaſters, and wiſhed to draw " a veil over her crimes, her follies, and her ex- " ceſſes. Even her crimes appeared only as miſ- " takes in my eyes, and her moſt enormous atro- " cities as natural, and, perhaps, neceſſary con- " ſequences of the violent external and internal " ſtruggle wherein ſhe was engaged. I called " them the crimes of the Revolution, not of " France, and I pardoned them; where I could " not pardon, I excuſed them, I palliated. I " conſidered her as fighting in the cauſe of free- " dom and humanity, and an end ſo excellent, " afforded much conſolation for the means which " ſhe often employed."

Such were the ſentiments with which Mr. Harper came to the conſideration of the difference between the Republic of France and the United States of America. A more impartial witneſs it would be impoſsible to produce upon ſuch an occaſion. Mr. Harper bears teſtimony to the pacific diſpoſition of the United States, and ſhews that it was clearly their intereſt to indulge ſuch a diſpoſition. On the moſt ſolid grounds he eſtabliſhes this concluſion, " to " remain at peace, amidſt the preſent conflict of " Empires, was a duty to ourſelves, to poſterity, " and to the whole human race." He thus proceeds. " This wiſe policy, the reſult of deep " foreſight, and of an enlightened regard to " the intereſts of this country (America) was " early adopted by our Government. But " France did not ſo judge, nor ſo determine. " She early ſaw in this country a powerful in- " ſtrument for her ambition; and ſhe early " formed a reſolution to uſe it. But her de- " ſigns were ſtill more extenſive." From the inſtructions given to M. Genet, her Ambaſſador to the United States, and renewed to M. Adet, who ſucceeded him in that capacity, it appears that ſhe ſought to make thoſe States ſubſervient to her plans of univerſal ſubverſion and revolution. In thoſe inſtructions it is ſuggeſted, that a treaty propoſed to be made, for the purpoſe of renewing and conſolidating

the

the commercial treaties between the two countries, may admit "a latitude ſtill more extenſive in becoming a national agreement, "in which two great nations ſhall ſuſpend "(that is, according to the French expreſsion, "ſhall cloſely unite) their *political* and commercial intereſts, and eſtabliſh a mutual underſtanding, *to befriend the Empire of Liberty wherever it can be embraced, to guarantee the Sovereignty of the people*, and to puniſh thoſe "powers who ſtill keep up an excluſive colonial and commercial ſyſtem. Such a pact "will quickly contribute to the general emancipation of the new world." In ſhort, by theſe inſtructions, the Executive Council of France declare their "expectation that the "American Government will finally make "common cauſe" with them.

The American Government was, however, too wiſe to make common cauſe with the enemy of every Government. That Government aſſerted with firmneſs the neutrality and independence of the United States. France therefore changed her ſyſtem, or rather reſorted to another principle of her ſyſtem. "She uſed unceaſing "endeavours to excite jealouſies againſt the "Government." Her miniſter, when "the "Government refuſed to yield to her pretenſions, treated it with inſult and outrage, and

" threatened to appeal from its deciſions *to the* " *people.*" She, " at length," ſays Mr. Harper, " made that appeal to the people of America " which her Miniſters formerly threatened."

The appeal made by France to the people of the United States againſt their Government, was not attended with the deſired effect. Although there was a very ſtrong and formidable French faction in America, as well as in England, a faction which made " common cauſe" with the Republic, yet could not the American people be prevailed upon to revolt againſt their Government. Indeed, Mr. Harper informs us, that none of its meaſures have received more warmly or more univerſally the approbation and thanks of the country, than its " refuſal to enter into " a treaty with France" on the terms which ſhe had propoſed.

As both the Government and the people of the United States diſappointed the views, and fruſtrated the endeavours of France, they both became objects of her reſentment. Mr. Harper thus ſtates the manner in which that reſentment was diſplayed.

" It is, in fine, for ſuch injuries as theſe that " our treaty with France has been expreſsly " violated, that ſwarms of privateers have been " let looſe upon our commerce, that our pro- " perty, to the amount of many millions of " dollars

" dollars, have been plundered, that hundreds
" of our ſhips have been ſeized and condemned,
" multitudes of our ſailors thrown into jails and
" priſon ſhips, that our ſeamen, who may be
" found in Britiſh ſhips of war, although brought
" there by compulſion, are declared liable to
" be condemned as pirates; and, to fill up the
" meaſure of outrage, that a meſſenger of peace
" and conciliation, a miniſter 'expreſsly ſent
" to explain our conduct, to remove miſun-
" derſtandings, and to reſtore harmony,' has
" been contemptuouſly driven away without
" a reception or a hearing."

To juſtify ſuch flagrant acts of outrage, cruelty and injuſtice, the French Republic did not fail to urge a variety of complaints againſt the conduct of the United States. Theſe complaints Mr. Harper has fully and candidly diſcuſſed; and he has proved, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, that they were founded upon pretenſions, which were themſelves a direct attack upon the independence of his country. The " moſt inadmiſsible pretenſions," ſays this writer, " pretenſions incompatible with our ſo-
" vereignty," and " repugnant to our ſyſtem of
" impartial neutrality, were renewed, and un-
" ceaſingly urged; and the ſteady refuſal of
" our Government to yield to them, with its
" firm reſolution to perſiſt in conducting our

" affairs in the manner which it conceived " moſt conducive to our intereſts, and moſt " conſonant with juſtice towards other nations, " *have been made the ground of proceedings, on the* " *part of France, the moſt inſulting and injurious.*"

Mr. Harper does not confine himſelf to the queſtion between France and America, but takes the opportunity of expreſsing thoſe ſentiments, which his obſervation of the conduct of France towards other countries had compelled him to form. The reſult of that obſervation ſhews, that " France has formed a plan of " aggrandizement at the expence of all her " neighbours; that ſhe has reſolved to make " all Europe, and, finally, *the whole world*, bend " beneath her yoke; a reſolution in the accom- " pliſhment whereof ſhe purſues the Roman " policy of dividing to deſtroy; of bribing one " nation with the ſpoils of another; OF IN- " TICING THE STRONGER TO INACTION, re- " ducing the weak to ſubmiſsion, and, by the " reſources of the one, and the connivance of " the other, breaking the ſtrength of thoſe whoſe " power ſhe dreads, and whoſe policy ſhe can- " not deceive." Mr. H. elſewhere obſerves, that " France compels thoſe powers whom ſhe " can frighten or ſeduce into her meaſures, to " form an alliance, for which they pay with " moſt of their wealth, and a part of their

" territories

" territories; and then ſhe forces them to join " her in wars, wherein, having no poſsible in- " tereſt, all their reſources are ſacrificed to pro- " mote her ambition and revenge;" and, with equal force and accuracy of deſcription, he ſays, that the weapons, with which ſhe meant to aſſail all Europe, and which ſhe ſought to employ in America, were " diviſion and inſurrection *."

To

* It deſerves notice, that Mr. Harper, once the admirer and the advocate of the French Revolution, expreſſes his opinion upon this queſtion in the moſt decided manner. " No- " thing," he ſays, " can be more inconteſtable than that " France was the aggreſſor in the preſent war." Nor does he content himſelf with expreſſing his opinion upon the ſubject—he brings inconteſtable evidence to ſupport it. The far greateſt part of that evidence has been adduced alſo by writers in this country; but Mr. H. mentions ſome proofs which no other writer has advanced, and which, as they particularly relate to the war between Great Britain and France, demand a place in this publication.

The United States were bound, by their treaty of alliance with France, to guarantee the French Weſt India Iſlands. But this was a treaty *purely defenſive*, and, of courſe, could have no operation in a war in which France was the aggreſſor. Now, although ſhe ſought by all poſſible means to draw the American States into the war with England, and endeavoured to find pretexts to complain of their conduct towards her, nay,

To the teſtimony of Mr. Harper, may be added that of General Waſhington, who, having retired from all public employment, was called from "the peaceful abode," in which he ſays, he had determined "to cloſe the remnant of his days," to take the command of that army which the conduct of France had rendered it expedient to collect for the defence of his country

although ſhe actually did complain that they ſuffered the Britiſh to declare her iſlands in a ſtate of blockade, ſhe did not once claim the benefit of the guarantee, nor did ſhe once complain of its violation. A ſtronger proof could not be adduced, that ſhe felt it impoſſible, with any degree of plauſibility, to contend that Great Britain was the aggreſſor in the war.

Another very ſtrong proof, adduced by Mr. Harper, on the queſtion of aggreſſion, is found in the date of the inſtructions to Genet, which have been already noticed, and of which Mr. H. ſays, "The manifeſt object of theſe inſtructions was to "bring the United States into a war with Great Britain; "theſe inſtructions were ſigned January 17, 1793, M. Chau-"velin was ordered to quit England January 24, 1793, and "war was declared againſt England February 1, 1793. If "this diſmiſſal was the occaſion of the war, as France al-"leged, why thoſe inſtructions before the diſmiſſal? Had "France been diſpoſed for peace, as ſhe alleged, could ſhe, "on account of this diſmiſſal, have declared war within ſix "days after it took place?"

Theſe

country. In his letter to Mr. Adams, the new Preſident of the United States, notifying his acceptance of the command of that army, General Waſhington thus expreſſes himſelf.

Theſe arguments are abſolutely concluſive on the queſtion of aggreſſion, as it relates to Great Britain *. The gentlemen of the oppoſition have uniformly contended that we were the aggreſſors in the war. They have not, perhaps, noticed the two important circumſtances juſt referred to, the guarantee of the French iſlands by the United States, in caſe of offenſive war; and the date of Genet's inſtructions: will the gentlemen in queſtion now ſhew that theſe circumſtances are not ſo concluſive as they ſeem to be, or will they candidly acknowledge, that they have *wrongfully* charged their country with the guilt of aggreſſion? If they do neither, they muſt allow the fact of their having *ſo* accuſed their country to be taken *pro confeſſo*. And they will exhibit the moſt memorable inſtance ever diſplayed, of the difficulty which attends the utterance of theſe few words, "*I have been wrong*," even after the fulleſt demonſtration of error.

* The evidence of M. De Leſſart, the Envoy of France to the Court of Vienna, at the commencement of hoſtilities, is equally ſatisfactory upon that queſtion, as it relates to the continental powers who were firſt engaged in the war. That Miniſter was afterwards, like many other French miniſters, impriſoned and murdered. But from his priſon he tells M. Neckar that he could demonſtrate that the foreign powers were unwilling to make war againſt France, and that he had unanſwerable proof that it was France who provoked hoſtilities, who began them, and who ſet all Europe againſt her.

"It

" It was not poſsible for me to remain igno-
" rant of, or indifferent to recent tranſactions.
" The conduct of the Directory of France to-
" wards our country; their inſidious hoſtility
" to its Government; their various practices
" to withdraw the affections of the people
" from it; the evident tendency of their acts,
" and thoſe of their agents, to countenance and
" invigorate oppoſition; their diſregard of ſolemn
" treaties, and the Laws of Nations; their war
" upon our defenceleſs commerce; their treat-
" ment of our Miniſters of Peace; and their
" demands amounting to tribute, could not
" fail to excite in me correſponding ſenti-
" ments with thoſe my countrymen have ſo
" generally expreſſed in their affectionate ad-
" dreſſes to you."

" Satisfied, therefore, that you have ſin-
" cerely wiſhed and endeavoured to avert
" war, and exhauſted *to the laſt drop* the cup
" of reconciliation, we can, with pure hearts,
" appeal to Heaven for the *juſtice of* our cauſe."

The treatment received by the American Envoys, who were ſent to France to make a laſt attempt at reconciliation, and to avert, if poſsible, the horrors of war, completes the atrocity of the French Republic in her behaviour towards the United States, and proves, at the ſame time, the Republican Government of France to be

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the moſt baſe, ſhameleſs, corrupt, and profligate, that ever preſided over a civilized country. It appears, from the moſt unqueſtionable documents, confirmed beyond the poſsibility of a doubt, that the above Envoys (Meſſrs. Pinckney, Marſhall, and Gerry,) were ſix months in Paris, without being officially received; and that, during this time, the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, M. Talleyrand, endeavoured by intrigues, conducted by his confidential Agents, Meſſrs X, Y, and Z, to extort from them a bribe of 220,000 dollars (about 50,000l.) for the pockets of the Directors and their Miniſters; and a loan for the Nation, to be ſecured by thirty-two millions of Dutch reſcriptions. Upon theſe terms, and theſe terms only, it was intimated to the Envoys, that they would be acknowledged in their official character; that the wrath of the Directory could be appeaſed, and the ſubſiſting differences accommodated. — The Loan indeed, being for the State, was not ſo urgent; on that ſubject there was time for one of the Envoys to go to America to conſult his Government; but the *Douceur* was an indiſpenſable preliminary to negociation. To ſatisfy " the honour, the jealous Republican " pride of France," the Envoys were told " il " faut de l'argent, il faut beaucoup d'argent." Nor was the experiment new;—it had been put

to

to the proof;—it was declared, by way of encouragement, that under ſuch "circumſtances "the Miniſter of Portugal had treated." The reſult of the treaty with Portugal has not, however, been very encouraging to future negociations of this kind with France. The money, which was to have purchaſed peace, was very *honourably* received, and has been very tenaciouſly retained, although no peace has been procured by it; and the Portugueſe Ambaſſador who paid it, was, in defiance of the law of nations, ſhortly after arreſted, and thrown into the Priſon of the Temple.

*SWITZERLAND**.

The fate of the Swiſs Cantons, is, perhaps, more inſtructive than that of any other country which has been ſubjugated by the arms or threats of France, as it affords the moſt ſtriking inſtance of the wiles by which the French Republic draws her intended prey into her power.

* The facts contained in the following narrative of the misfortunes of Switzerland, are related chiefly on the authority of that valuable work, intitled, "Mercure Britannique, par M. Mallet du Pan."

The

The French Revolutioniſts had, betimes, endeavoured to excite the peaſants in different Cantons, and particularly in the upper *Valais* and the *Pays de Vaud*, to inſurrection; and a club, conſiſting of Swiſs malecontents, was formed in Paris as early as the year 1791, under the title of The friends of Swiſs Liberty. When the war broke out upon the Continent, Switzerland covered the weakeſt frontier of France, and protected her capital from the allied arms. The neutrality of the Swiſs Cantons was therefore neceſſary to the Republic; and as they were too formidable in poſition, ſpirit, and military reſources, to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs, they were ſuffered to remain in peace. But neither peace nor the important ſervices which, by their neutrality, they rendered their Gallic neighbour, could prevent her from aſſailing them with her revolutionary arts, whereby ſhe endeavoured to obtain over them that aſcendancy which ſhe durſt not attempt by open force. By the moſt pacific aſſurances, ſhe ſought to lull the Governments of theſe provinces into a ſtate of falſe ſecurity; ſhe denominated them her good neighbours and dear allies, while ſhe diſpatched her emiſſaries to corrupt their ſubjects, to inſpire them with diſcontent, to combine the diſaffected with the friends of innovation in clubs, which, encouraged and inſtructed by the Jacobin Societies

ties in Paris, kept alive a reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit, and overawed the ſupreme power itſelf. When the treaty of Campo Formio, at the cloſe of the year 1797, relieved her from her continental war, ſhe ventured to diſplay more clearly her deſigns with regard to the Swiſs Cantons, though ſtill, by treacherous aſſurances of friendſhip and good will, ſhe ſought to infuſe into their councils the hope of averting, by conceſſions, that vengeance which could be effectually encountered only by ſeaſonable vigour, and manly deciſion.

At length ſhe actually invaded their territories; but even then, ſtrange as it may appear, ſhe found means to ſtifle their alarm, and to prevent that general and ſtrenuous reſiſtance which ſo hoſtile a meaſure was calculated to produce. She began by marching a body of forces into a diſtrict, which, though incorporated with the Swiſs Union, was nevertheleſs diſtinguiſhable from the reſt of the alliance, by the nature, hiſtory, and circumſtances of its connection: this diſtrict was the Helvetic part of the Biſhopric of Baſil, to which ſhe pretended to be entitled, by virtue of her occupation of the German part of that Biſhopric, although it had not, like that part, been holden of the German Empire, and although ſhe had, in the year 1792, acknowledged its independence. By commencing

mencing the attack in this manner, and under ſuch pretexts, ſhe evidently intended to inſpire the Cantons with the vain hope, that her views might be confined to the diſtrict in queſtion, and that peace might be purchaſed for the reſt of the country, by a ſubmiſsion to this act of injuſtice. To ſtrengthen this impreſsion, her Commiſſary Mengaud addreſſed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the territory which ſhe was about to ſeize, or, in her inſidious jargon, to occupy, aſſuring them that ſhe would break their chains; that they were about to enjoy, for the firſt time, the bounty of Providence; that Liberty and Equality would not ſuffer any other diſtinctions to remain among them, than thoſe of merit, talents, and virtue; that the granaries of the French Republic, the property of all its children, ſhould enſure their ſubſiſtence;—that their commerce, induſtry, arts, and agriculture, ſhould receive all poſsible encouragement; and, in fine, that both their perſons and their property ſhould be protected. Theſe captivating promiſes were ſpeedily followed, after the French manner, by impriſonments, requiſitions, and rapine; the unfortunate inhabitants in vain implored aſsiſtance from the Government of Berne, which, in ſpite of its injury and danger, confined itſelf to vain proteſtations, inſtead of marching its forces to repel the invader. Thus did the Republic gain

a footing

a footing in Switzerland, and pave the way for the accompliſhment of her views againſt that devoted country.

This operation was followed by another, if poſsible, ſtill more atrocious. The country called the Pays de Vaud had been conquered by Berne from the Duke of Savoy, and generouſly allowed by its conquerors, without any capitulation or engagement, to retain its ancient privileges. One of theſe privileges had conſiſted in an occaſional, though very unfrequent aſſemblage of its States, to conſent to extraordinary ſubſidies: but this privilege, after the conqueſt, fell into diſuſe, for the moſt ſatisfactory of all poſſible reaſons, becauſe no demand of ſubſidies or impoſitions gave occaſion to its exerciſe.

It was pretended by France, that the ancient Dukes of Savoy had, upon the ceſsion of the Pays de Vaud, guaranteed the privileges and the States of that province. This pretence was, indeed, totally unfounded, for no treaties of the Houſe of Savoy ever contained ſuch an engagement. But, ſuppoſing that the guaranty in queſtion had been given in the fulleſt manner, what right could this confer upon France? Her invention was not at a loſs to anſwer this queſtion.—She had conquered Savoy (that is, ſhe had ſeized upon it without any difference whatever with its Sovereign, the King of Sardinia.) This conqueſt

queſt transferred to her, not only the rights, but the duties and obligations of the ancient Dukes, and, of courſe, ſhe became bound to perform the guaranty reſpecting the States of the Province. Behold then this paragon of generoſity, honour, and juſtice, impelled by conſcience to reſtore to the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud, a right which had not been exerciſed, nor ever been thought of for centuries, and which had (as has been ſhewn) *neceſſarily* ceaſed with a change in their ſituation!—Behold her, while ſhe is engaged in deſtroying all known, clear, legal, and actually ſubſiſting rights, volunteering to reſtore thoſe which are obſolete and forgotten, and which have neither law nor uſage to ſupport them!—The meaſure being reſolved on, the mode of accompliſhing it was perfectly *French*; a petition, purporting to be addreſſed by ſeveral inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud to the Directory, and ſoliciting from the French Republic, in execution of ancient treaties, the re-eſtabliſhment of their rights, was announced from Paris before it was known in the country whence it was ſuppoſed to have originated. This inverſion of the natural order of things, will not appear ſtrange when it is known, that the petition was the fabrication of ſome incendiaries, who, baniſhed for their turbulent and ſeditious behaviour, had been cordially received in France, where they conſpired,

as divers Engliſh and Iriſh traitors have done, againſt the liberties and independence of their country *. But however this petition was procured, the Directory wanted no other pretext for its intended interference, and almoſt immediately iſſued a *minatory* decree, declaring "The members of the Governments of Berne and Fribourg "perſonally reſponſible for the individual ſafety "and for the property of thoſe inhabitants of "the Pays de Vaud, who might reclaim from "the French Republic, in execution of ancient "treaties, her mediation for the maintenance or "reſtoration of their rights." This declaration, aided by the miſsionaries of France, ſoon fanned into a flame all the embers of ſedition, emboldened and called into action all the diſaffected, all who wiſhed for a Revolution in the province, but who, notwithſtanding the proximity of France, were but a very ſmall proportion of the people—while the Government of Berne, ſtill wavering and irreſolute, ſought rather to prevent than to provide for a war, which evidently afforded the only means of ſafety. A French army of 15,000 men, commanded by General Menard, appeared in the neighbourhood of the Pays de Vaud. The approach of ſuch a force drew forth petitions from the fac-

* One, indeed, La Harpe, had been ſentenced to a capital puniſhment.

tious,

tious, for the assembling of the States—but even these petitions, which were very few in number, and signed by very few names, (that of Lausanne, the principal town, having but 130 signatures,) were addressed, not to the French Directory, but to the Government of Berne. That Government at length, roused from its lethargy, resolved to repel force by force, and sent a body of troops to the protection of the Pays de Vaud. Unfortunately the command of this force was entrusted to an officer (Colonel Weiss) who, though supposed not to be deficient either in bravery or in attachment to his country, was certainly destitute of that firmness of principle, and decision of mind, which, in a war like the present, should distinguish every man who is placed either in a military or civil capacity. This officer rested in total inaction; neglected all his military advantages, which would have given him a decided superiority;—he suffered the revolutionary clubs and committees to assemble;—employed expostulation with the disaffected instead of force, and even allowed them, in the sight of his standards, to break out into open insurrection; to disarm and pillage the magistrates; to plant the tree of liberty, and formally to invite the French General to advance. This invitation, as may be imagined, was instantly accepted, when the Swiss Commander abandoned all his posts, and, without shedding a drop of blood, permitted the coun-

try he was ſent to protect, to become a prey to the enemy.

The French Republic thus obtained complete poſſeſsion of the Pays de Vaud; but inſtead of convening its States in conformity to that guaranty which ſhe had been ſo anxious to fulfil, her firſt ſtep was to demand, by her own authority, a tribute of 700,000 livres, and a levy of 4000 volunteers.

Notwithſtanding the loſs of theſe advantages, Switzerland ſtill poſſeſſed reſources more than ſufficient, if properly called forth, for its preſervation. Excluſive of the extraordinary means which Nature had provided for its defence, and by which ſhe had almoſt rendered it impregnable, the Swiſs army burned with impatience to meet the enemy, and the people at large were ardently attached to their Government, while they held the conduct of the French in utter abhorrence. But unfortunately the conduct of Government was the very reverſe of what ſuch an exigency required it to be. The Sovereign Council of Berne, which, by its aſcendancy, ſeemed to hold in its hands the fate of all the Cantons, contained ſome men of the greateſt talents, of the pureſt patriotiſm, of unimpeachable integrity, of energetic character, and of the higheſt conſideration with the public; men who were duly impreſſed with a ſenſe of the dangers which menaced the State, and of the means by which alone

alone thoſe dangers could be averted. At the head of theſe men was the Chief Magiſtrate, M. de Steiguer, who poſſeſſed all the above qualities in the moſt eminent degree, and who ſeemed formed to be the ſaviour of his country, if he had been allowed to direct its Councils *. But ſuch merit and influence excited envy and oppoſition—and one individual in particular, who was alſo much diſtinguiſhed for his eloquence and abilities, abandoned himſelf altogether to jealouſy and reſentment, and ſuffered theſe paſsions to gain ſuch a maſtery over him, that he ſeemed determined that his country ſhould rather periſh, than be ſaved by his rival. This perſon became the head of a party, which, above all other things, contributed to forward the views of France; which embarraſſed every operation of Government; which checked every diſplay of vigour and deciſion; which rent the State with diviſions when union and harmony were moſt ne-

* The gentlemen of Oppoſition, in Great Britain, will here probably call to mind a caſe which bears a ſtriking reſemblance to the one now recited. If they do, their recollection will, unleſs they are indeed obdurate, be attended with ſome of the "compunctious viſitings of Nature." But whether or no their memory be faithful, or their feelings juſt, it cannot eſcape the Engliſh reader, that faction has here purſued, and, incredible as it may appear, ſtill purſues the very ſteps, by which faction in Switzerland brought ruin upon that country. This analogy, which is *wonderfully exact*, renders the hiſtory of the Revolution in Switzerland a moſt highly inſtructive leſſon to the people of Great Britain.

 ceſſary,

ceſſary, which, by its perverſe reaſonings and inſidious miſrepreſentations, kept the public mind in a ſtate of gloom, ſuſpenſe and uncertainty—which oppoſed every attempt to act with vigour againſt the foreign enemy, and to bring to juſtice domeſtic conſpirators—and which, above all things, cheriſhed among the people an inglorious and fatal deſire to preſerve peace, though at the expenſe of every thing that can render peace valuable—at the expenſe of honour, ſecurity, and national independence.

Notwithſtanding the clear and indiſputable evidence by which it appeared, beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, that the war aroſe from the ambition of France, theſe men contended that it was provoked by M. de Steiguer, and his ſupporters. They courted popularity, by repreſenting themſelves as the only friends to peace;—they ſtrove to ſtifle that alarm which the principles and pretenſions of France were calculated to excite, and they laboured to render the Houſe of Auſtria an object of jealouſy and ſuſpicion. They entered into a cloſe communication with the French Ambaſſador and his agents in the holy work of inſurrection.

Under the influence of this party, which drew to itſelf all men of weak, timid, and irreſolute minds, and all of a turbulent and factious diſpoſition, the Government of Berne ſeemed determined to make every ſacrifice, to ſubmit to

any

any injuſtice, in order to avoid a rupture. It ſought for ſafety in conciliation and conceſsion, and thereby afforded the ſtrongeſt encouragement to France to purſue her ſchemes of encroachment and progreſsive hoſtility. It even ventured upon the moſt deſperate experiment that folly or wickedneſs could ſuggeſt—that of reforming, in a criſis of extreme danger, an ancient Conſtitution, which was adored by the people, by admitting into the Sovereign Council a general deputation, amounting to 52 repreſentatives, from the commonalties and towns. This innovation was, as might have been expected, ſpeedily followed by much more extenſive changes. A commiſsion was appointed to frame a new conſtitutional plan, which it was reſolved ſhould take for its baſis the admiſsibility of every citizen to public offices, and the elective repreſentation of the people. This reſolution was accompanied by *expreſsions* of "a fixed "determination to maintain the religion, liberty, "independence, and integrity of the ſtate, and "to repel every foreign intervention." The pretext aſsigned for ſo extraordinary a meaſure was to unite by more intimate ties, the government and the people, and to make in the conſtitution ſuch ameliorations as were required for the good of the country, and as might be conformable with the ſpirit and circumſtances of the times. But the real motive was a deſire,

alike diſgraceful and abſurd, of conciliating the French Directory by a ſacrifice of the ancient Conſtitution at the ſhrine of popular reform. The reſult, in both reſpects, affords an uſeful leſſon to all perſons who are partial to ſuch reforms, and to all who hope, by limited ſacrifices, to appeaſe the Rulers of Republican France. There being no longer any eſtabliſhed government to command allegiance, and excite reſpect and confidence, the moſt orderly people on earth became a prey to anarchy, and ſoon after guilty of the greateſt exceſſes. In ſome cantons, which imitated the reforming zeal of Berne, the peaſants revolted at the ſight of the innovations, and *ſeditiouſly* reclaimed the maintenance of their ancient laws. The Directory having received a formal notification of the decree to amend the Conſtitution, their agent, Mengaud, inſtead of ſignifying his maſter's gracious acceptance of the ſacrifice, complained "that "the ſelfiſhneſs, the intrigues, the perfidy, of "ſome members of the Helvetic governments, "had too long balanced *the general will*; that "this ſcandalous ſtruggle ought to be termi-"nated; and that the majeſty of the French "Republic would not ſuffer itſelf to be degraded "by injurious tergiverſations, which would ren-"der the announced reforms ineffectual." He demanded imperiouſly a complete diſmiſſion of the whole Magiſtracy, the ſuppreſſion of the

Council

Council of War, and of the Secret Council, together with the creation of a Provisional Government, founded on the *pure* principles of Democracy, but to which *none* of the members of the former Government should be admissible.

Such a display of insolence overpowered for an instant the influence of the French party. The Swiss people seemed to recover their native energy—the army panted to be led against the audacious foe, whose designs could no longer be doubted—and a deputation was sent to Mengaud with a positive refusal to comply with *any* of his demands. At this moment General Brune arrived to take the command of the French troops in the Pays de Vaud. His directions were to amuse the State of Berne until the arrival of reinforcements from the army of the Rhine. He accordingly affected the character of moderation and sincerity; he pretended to approve of the demand of Berne, that the French should evacuate Erguel and the Pays de Vaud, though he had not *yet* authority to comply with that demand; and he promised an equitable pacification. The majority of the Council were fascinated by the syren sound of peace, and fell into the snare. The army, eager to attack the French, was palsied by a truce of fifteen days, proposed by Brune under the pretext of sending to Paris for further powers. In violation of the armistice the French army, now reinforced by

22,000

22,000 men from the Rhine, attacked *by night* ſome poſts of the utmoſt importance, ſurprized Soleure and Fribourg, and thereby turning the flanks of the Berneſe army, obliged it to retreat from its poſitions. For ſome time agents of the French faction had been endeavouring to ſeduce and inflame this army, by infuſing into the minds of the ſoldiers ſuſpicions that their Government and chiefs meant to betray them to the enemy. The effect of ſuch ſuggeſtions was greatly heightened by that indeciſion of conduct, and that inceſſant fluctuation of plans, which had ſo long prevailed. The retrograde movement which took place in conſequence of the ſurprize of Soleure and Fribourg by the French, furniſhed the occaſion for the diſcontents and jealouſies of the army to burſt forth. Theſe diſaſters, and the contradictory orders which had been iſſued, appeared to the troops as certain proofs of the treaſon of their leaders. Some diſbanded themſelves, and retired to their own homes—others broke out in open inſurrection, and in their fury maſſacred two of their chiefs. It was in this reduced and diſorganized ſtate that they engaged an enemy greatly ſuperior in force, and full of confidence from a knowledge of the ſucceſs which had attended his arts of intrigue and ſeduction. In ſpite, however, of ſo many diſadvantages, the Swiſs troops fought with aſtoniſhing bravery, ſlew great numbers of their opponents;

ponents; and, though overwhelmed at laſt, they exhibited ſtriking proofs of what might have been expected from them, had they been ſuffered in time to defend their country and their liberties. The General, M. d'Erlach, after the defeat of his army, endeavoured to gain a ſituation where he might rally his ſcattered troops; but in his way he was butchered, together with his Aide-du-Camp, in the moſt ſavage manner, by a band of enraged peaſants and ſoldiers, whoſe minds had been inflamed by the treacherous inſinuations with which the French had laboured to corrupt the fidelity both of the troops and the people. Some of theſe deluded aſſaſsins, a few days afterwards, declared, in juſtification of their crime, that the French had ſhewn them letters of General d'Erlach, in which he promiſed to make them fight—and *to betray them**.

Berne, unprepared for defence, upon the diſperſion of its protecting army, was ſurrendered by capitulation to the French, who, as uſual, promiſed to reſpect perſons and property. By keeping that promiſe in their uſual manner, they made this unhappy country bewail, as many others had done before, in tears of blood, the

* The author of the Mercure Britannique declares, that he makes himſelf perſonally reſponſible for this fact, the authenticity of which, he ſays, can be eſtabliſhed by more than 2000 Berneſe ſoldiers, who had received notes to the ſame effect.

folly

folly of truſting to the profeſsions of theſe perfidious and cruel diſturbers of the peace of the world.

The Swiſs ſoon found that Gallic Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, were but other words for murder, rape, confiſcation, and pillage. Upon taking Soleure, the French troops had ſacked twenty-four villages in the neighbourhood of that town; and after the capture of Berne, upwards of thirty villages, and the country round, for many leagues, experienced the ſame fate. Chateaux, farms, cottages—all were laid waſte;—the furniture, which could not be carried off, was deſtroyed;—the ſtate-treaſures of Berne were ſeized; the private treaſures of patrician families confiſcated; the magazines, the public depôts, the arſenal, were plundered; immenſe collections of grain, wine and ammunition, 300 pieces of artillery, accoutrements for 40,000 men, all vaniſhed at the touch of French rapacity!—Fribourg was ſubjected to an impoſition of 100,000 crowns, and Berne to one of 800,000 lives. The other Cantons, which had not joined in the war, were not more fortunate. The peaſants of Lucerne and the Valais atoned with their blood the unpardonable offence of attempting to defend their religion, their laws and independence. The latter diſtrict was overrun by bands of murderers, who laid waſte its hitherto

hitherto peaceful vales with fire and ſword. To the horror of military oppreſsion ſucceeded a fiſcal tyranny. The ruined country was called upon for immenſe contributions. Six millions were impoſed upon Berne; ſeven millions upon Zurich, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Soleure. Submiſsion was enforced by terror. Impriſonment and death attended reſiſtance, and even complaint; and the *liberated* inhabitants were forbidden to paſs from one Canton to another without the paſſport of a French General.

Having ſuffered theſe accumulated miſeries, the exhauſted country was inſulted with the title of Independence. It did not ſuit the views of its oppreſſors to incorporate it with France: they choſe rather to enchain it to the Republic by means of a *free* Conſtitution, formed after their own model, and to be adminiſtered by their ſlaves. They made its ſubjection more complete by an alliance offenſive and defenſive, which gave them the entire command of its force; and the preſence of 40,000 French troops enſured its unqualified ſubmiſsion in all things to the will of its new maſters.

The ſmaller Cantons retained their liberties ſomewhat longer than the reſt of Switzerland. The brave inhabitants of thoſe mountainous diſtricts repulſed their ferocious invaders with great ſlaughter, and obtained a convention, by which it was agreed, that no French troops ſhould enter their

their territories. But conventions have no force to reſtrain the diſpenſers of the modern Rights of Man.

The Cantons of Appenzell, Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, Zug, and a part of Lucerne, refuſed to take an oath to the new Conſtitution, which their ſubjugated countrymen had been obliged to accept. This refuſal was made the pretext for marching againſt them the French army, reinforced by fifteen battalions of freſh troops, in direct violation of the ſubſiſting agreement. The inhabitants defended themſelves with deſperation. Fifteen hundred of them were killed, more than 2000 wounded: old men, children, women, prieſts, fought and bled for their country; but though they made above 2000 of the enemy atone, with their lives, for the infamous expedition in which they were engaged, all reſiſtance was vain againſt the immenſe ſuperiority of the French, both in men and artillery: and theſe unfortunate provinces, the laſt retreat of Swiſs Liberty, were puniſhed with fire, ſword, maſſacre, pillage and deſolation, for the unpardonable offence of refuſing to exchange their ancient laws for one of thoſe fraudulent ſyſtems called Conſtitutions, by which the tyrants of France endeavour to retain foreign countries in ſubjection to their accurſed yoke.

THE OTTOMAN PORTE.

THE very extraordinary nature of the expedition againſt Egypt has attracted ſo powerfully the public attention to the conduct of France towards the Ottoman Porte, as to render it unneceſſary to enlarge much upon this ſubject. Neither a ſtate of peace, nor the moſt honourable and conſcientious obſervance of neutrality, could preſerve the Porte from experiencing, like other States, the perfidy, the injuſtice, and the violence of the Gallic Republic. The Grand Seignior firmly reſiſted all attempts to draw him into that coalition which the immediate defence and preſervation of its members, rather than any wiſe and comprehenſive views of general and permanent ſecurity, had produced. The Republican Rulers of France requited his friendſhip by employing their revolutionary arts for the ſubverſion of his empire. Among the expedients to which they reſorted for this purpoſe, was one, which had, doubtleſs, been often adopted by much honeſter men, though never in ſo bad a cauſe. A miſcreant, named Semonville, was entruſted, in the character of an Ambaſſador, with the revolutionary miſsion to Conſtantinople. He was, however, rejected by the Sultan, upon a timely

a timely diſcovery of his character and principles; and being arreſted upon the road, there were found upon him ſtolen jewels of very conſiderable value, which were to have been employed in corrupting the Divan, and which had adorned the crown of the virtuous and unfortunate Louis the XVIth.

Other Envoys of leſs notorious character were, however, ſent to the Porte, and there received. While they were making the ſtrongeſt declarations of friendſhip on the part of France, the Republican Generals were employed in endeavours to revolutionize Romelia, the Morea, and the Iſlands in ſubjection to the Sultan. In a moſt inſidious letter to the Chief of the Maniots, dated Milan, 12th Thermidor, Bonaparte diſplays his arts of refined perfidy, by flattering "the little brave people, the Maniots, who "alone of ancient Greece had preſerved their "liberty," in order to induce them to receive *French veſſels into their ports.* In ſhort, the conduct of France to the Ottoman Porte cannot be better deſcribed than in the impreſsive language of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, in his addreſs to the Chriſtians of Corfou, Cephalonia, Zante, Cerigo, Ithaca, Saint Maure, &c. "When they" (the French) "proceeded to "trample under foot all the duties of their re-"ligion, they ſet at nought all treaties of alli-"ance, as may be ſeen by their ungrateful

"conduct

" conduct to the Ottoman Porte, which in the " time of their neceſsity never deſerted them. " They ſhewed themſelves openly hoſtile; and, " with ſubtle and deſigning publications, craftily " attempted to trouble this empire, and force " its ſubjects into anarchy and rebellion, of " which the conſequences are civil war, mur- " der, pillage, &c. and, finally, after all theſe " artifices, they have made, in the face of the " world, a piratical attempt upon Egypt; on ac- " count of which this mighty empire has juſtly " declared war againſt them, by land and by " ſea, that, by the Divine aſsiſtance, it may " puniſh theſe deſtroyers of mankind, theſe " aliens from God, and theſe perturbators and " peſts of the general peace and good order of " the world *."

The real motives which induced the expedition to Egypt are ſtill, and will poſsibly ever continue to be enveloped in a conſiderable degree of myſtery. One of the principal officers employed on that expedition, Adjutant General Boyer, in one of the intercepted letters above alluded to, thus unfolds his ſentiments upon the ſubject:

" To indemnify itſelf for this loſs," (colonies, factories, and commerce) " the Government " turned its views toward Egypt and Syria;

* See this Addreſs at large in the " Copies of original Letters from " the army of General Bonaparte in Egypt, intercepted by the fleet " under the command of Admiral Lord Nelſon." Part the Second.

" countries which, by their climate and their
" fertility, are capable of being made the ſtore-
" houſe of France, and, in proceſs of time, the
" mart of her commerce with India. It is
" certain, that by ſeizing and organizing theſe
" countries, we ſhall be enabled to extend our
" views ſtill further, *to annihilate, by degrees,*
" *the Engliſh Eaſt India trade*, and, finally, to
" get into our hands the whole commerce of
" Africa and Aſia."

But whatever was the ultimate object of this expedition, it was one of the moſt atrocious violations of neutrality, and one of the groſſeſt outrages againſt a peaceable, a friendly, and an unoffendir g Power, that have ever been committed even by the French Republic. The manner in which it was purſued is peculiarly calculated to place the character of Bonaparte in its true light—a circumſtance to which recent events have given a conſiderable degree of importance. In Italy he had diſplayed himſelf ſufficiently to excite the execration of every one, who poſſeſſes a ſpark of virtue, or a feeling of humanity. Italy had witneſſed his ſacrilege, his perfidy, his inſatiable rapacity, his ferocious and ſanguinary diſpoſition. Italy had ſeen him, at the gates of the city of Modena, firſt play the Swindler, by extorting 600,000 Crowns from the Duke, as the price of exemption from all further requiſitions, and then diſplay the open, barefaced, unbluſhing villain, by entering the city which had thus paid

for

for its ſecurity, impoſing contributions, plundering the palace of the Prince, who thought himſelf happy in being permitted to make his eſcape, overturning his Government, and deſolating his dominions*. Italy had ſeen him burning its villages, murdering its peaſants †, pillaging its territories, ranſacking its churches, and committing numberleſs acts of

* A ſtory is generally current, and has not been contradicted, although the Corſican is not without his admirers and advocates in this country, that he procured a double payment of the above ſum, on pretence that he muſt have gold inſtead of ſilver, in which, as being the currency of the country, the firſt payment was made; that he kept the ſilver, by way of ſecurity, till gold to the ſame amount could be procured from Genoa; and that, at laſt—he retained both. The unfortunate Duke was able to ſave ſome of his treaſure, which he took with him in his flight to Venice, and there depoſited with the Imperial Ambaſſador. The French having gained poſſeſsion of that city, they ſeized the Duke of Modena, and compelled him to declare where his treaſure was placed. They then demanded it of the Ambaſſador, who pleaded that the depôt was ſacred while in his cuſtody. (Preliminaries of peace were then concluded by the Emperor and France.) The robbers did not think it prudent to violate the aſylum of the Ambaſſador's palace; but, by perſonal violence and intimidation, they obliged the Duke to ſign an order for the treaſure, which was accordingly delivered to them.

† In his own reports to the Directory he makes a boaſt of ſetting fire to villages (the ſight of which, when burning, he declared to be "horrible")—of ſhooting peaſants by the hundred—and in one inſtance he relates, with the utmoſt brevity and ſang froid, as a matter of courſe, "that he had ſhot the whole municipality of Pavia."—"*Jai fait fuſiller la municipalité*," ſays he in his letter to the Directory from Peſchiera, dated 10 Prairial (28 May), 1796; See alſo Salicetti's Letter of the ſame date.

barbarity on its inhabitants, becauſe they attempted to throw off a galling yoke, which was impoſed on them in violation of numberleſs promiſes to reſpect their perſons, property, and Religion. Nay, Italy had ſeen (ſuch was his diſregard for human life) that it was indifferent to him whether he ſported with the blood of his followers or opponents; when at the bridge of Lodi he wantonly ſacrificed 6000 of his own troops, that he might *force* with *éclat* a difficult paſs, which he might have *turned* without any material loſs. Still, however, without the African expedition, the character of this ſcourge of the human race would not have been fully known. It was in Egypt, that—in order to have a pretext for indiſcriminate maſſacre—he unneceſſarily ſtormed a town, of which he might have gained poſſeſsion merely by a ſummons to ſurrender. To this fact, with its motives and its conſequences, Adjutant General Boyer thus bears teſtimony:—"We began by "making an aſſault upon a place without any "defence, and garriſoned by about 500 Jani- "ſaries, of whom ſcarcely a man knew how to "level a muſket. I allude to Alexandria, a "huge and wretched ſkeleton of a place, open "on every ſide, and moſt certainly very unable "to reſiſt the efforts of 25,000 men, who at- "tacked it at the ſame inſtant. We loſt, not- "withſtanding, 150 men, *whom we might have*

"*preſerved*

" *preſerved* BY ONLY SUMMONING THE TOWN;
" but *it was thought neceſſary to begin by ſtriking*
" *terror into the enemy.*—Repulſed on every ſide,
" they" (the Turks) " betake themſelves to
" God and their Prophet, and fill their moſques—
" MEN, WOMEN, OLD, YOUNG, CHILDREN AT
" THE BREAST, ALL ARE MASSACRED. At the
" end of four hours the fury of our troops
" ceaſes."

It was in Egypt that Bonaparte played the diſguſting farce of Legiſlation, which General Boyer thus inſultingly deſcribes:

" I went yeſterday to ſee the inſtallation of
" the Divan, which Bonaparte has formed. It
" conſiſts of nine perſons, and ſuch a ſight! I
" was introduced to nine bearded automatons,
" dreſſed in long robes and turbans; but whoſe
" mien and appearance, altogether, put me
" ſtrongly in mind of the figures of the twelve
" Apoſtles in my grandfather's little cabinet. I
" ſhall ſay nothing to you of their talents, know-
" ledge, genius, wit, &c.—this is always a blank
" chapter in Turkey. No where is there to be
" found ſuch deplorable ignorance as in every
" part of that country—no where *ſuch wealth*,
" and no where ſo vile and ſordid a miſ-uſe of
" the bleſsing."

It was in Egypt that this pretended hero ſhewed himſelf as deſtitute of honour as he was of humanity, by ſecretly calumniating the character of a brother officer, Admiral Brueys, to whom he,

with equal meanneſs and falſehood, aſcribed that delay of the fleet on the coaſt of Egypt, which afforded the occaſion for the ever memorable victory of the Nile; while he was, as appears by the cleareſt evidence *, the ſole cauſe of that delay.

Finally, it was in Egypt that Bonaparte diſplayed a character of hypocriſy of which there is not a parallel in the records of time. Having in Italy declared himſelf the protector of the Church, that he might the more eaſily pillage and overthrow it—ſee him in Egypt aſſume the character of a Muſſulman, that he might gain the confidence of the credulous people, and render them the inſtrument of their own ſubjugation and ruin. Behold this blaſphemer, iſſuing from the midſt of Chriſtendom, and, in a Proclamation which he addreſſed to a country, whoſe arid ſands he was about to drench with the blood of her inhabitants, thus invoking, with lies in his mouth, the Majeſty of Heaven, and openly denying the Redeemer of the world.

"In the name of God, gracious and merci-
"ful—there is no God but God;—HE HAS NO
"SON—no Aſſociate in his kingdom."

Hear this impious impoſtor thus attempting to inveigle the wretched people whom he came grievouſly to ſcourge, into a belief, not merely, as he had done in other countries, that he

* See again the Intercepted Letters, which ought, at this time, to be read by all who *have*, as well as by all who have not peruſed them.

would

would reſpect and protect their Religion, but that he and his atheiſtical followers were converts to their faith.

" Bonaparte, the General of the French Re-
" public, according to the principles of Liberty,
" is now arrived; and the Almighty, the Lord
" of both worlds, has ſealed the deſtruction of
" the Beys."

" Inhabitants of Egypt! when the Beys tell
" you the French are come to deſtroy your re-
" ligion, believe them not: it is an abſolute
" falſehood. Anſwer thoſe deceivers, that the
" French adore the Supreme Being, AND HO-
" NOUR THE PROPHET AND HIS HOLY KORAN.
" THE FRENCH ARE TRUE MUSSULMEN."

If it were poſsible to heighten the horror which muſt be excited by ſuch impiety, directed to ſuch a purpoſe, this would be done by ſeeing the execrable blaſphemer, in order to gain credit for his new profeſsion of Mahometaniſm, thus boaſting of his triumphs over the Chriſtian Religion; in the perſon and government of a Pope, when alive, to whoſe dead remains he now affects to pay honour, that he may hypocritically impoſe upon all perſons in France who ſtill hold faſt the faith of their anceſtors.

" The French are true Muſſulmen—not long
" ſince they marched to Rome, and overthrew the
" throne of the Pope, who excited the Chriſtians
" againſt the profeſſors of Iſlamiſm; afterwards
" they directed their courſe to Malta, and drove

" out the *unbelievers*, who imagined they were " appointed by God to make war on the Muſ- " ſulmen."

If ſuch hypocriſy, ſuch ſhocking impiety and blaſphemy, do not excite in the breaſts of mankind ſentiments of horror and deteſtation, of which no language can convey an adequate idea —if men can be diſpoſed to form relations of peace and amity with this fiend in human ſhape— then is the world ripe for that vengeance, which ſuch a ſcourge as the French Republic, under the direction of Bonaparte, would alone be competent to inflict.

The character of the Egyptian expedition, as well as that of it's conductor, is moſt clearly ſtamped by the above few details; but an anecdote related by Adjutant General Boyer, (a fit Adjutant for ſuch a Commander) reſpecting himſelf, is ſo very illuſtrative of the means by which French Republicans promote the ſucceſs of their arms, that it demands inſertion.

" The Chiek of the place demanded to know " by what right the Chriſtians were come to " ſeize a country which belonged to the Grand " Seignior. I anſwered him, that it was the " will of God, and his Prophet, to bring us " there. But, rejoined he, the King of " France ought to have informed the Sultan of " this ſtep. I aſſured him, that this had been " done. And he then aſked me, how our King " did? I replied, very well; upon which he ſwore

" by

" by his turban and his beard, that he would al-
" ways look on me as his friend.—I took advan-
" tage of the kindneſs of theſe good people."

If Bonaparte be followed to Syria, he will there be found, according to the intereſting report of his conqueror and purſuer, Sir Sydney Smith, to maintain the ſame character for inhumanity, perfidy and calumny, which he had diſplayed both in Europe and Africa. Finally, he cloſed an expedition which had made ſo much noiſe, and which was directed againſt no leſs than three Quarters of the Globe, by baſely ſkulking away from his " brethren in Arms," whom he left to periſh in the deſarts of Egypt. But no more of this miſcreant; for

" Non, mihi ſi linguæ centum ſint, oraque centum,
" Ferrea vox, omnes ſcelerum comprendere formas
" Omnia pœnarum percurrere nomina poſſim."

What a *juſt and awful retribution* marks the fate of the French people!—They murdered a lawful, a virtuous, a beneficent Sovereign, whoſe heart panted only for their happineſs, and they are now groaning beneath the yoke of a foreign uſurper—the foulеſt diſgrace to human nature.

From the foregoing rapid ſketch of ſome of the foreign tranſactions of Republican France, it has been found neceſſary to exclude much important matter, becauſe its inſertion would have ſwoln the preſent publication to too great a bulk. It is with particular regret that the

author finds himſelf obliged, on this account, to be content with a general reference to a narrative of the proceedings of the French in Suabia, by Anthony Aufrere, Eſq. This intereſting recital has, indeed, been much circulated, and therefore it ſeems the leſs neceſſary to be quoted. But it is alike ſurpriſing and lamentable, that the impreſsions of horror which have been ſo frequently made by the revolutionary diſturbers of the world, ſhould be ſo ſpeedily effaced. "*Sed unda ſupervenit undam*;" and one atrocity ſucceeds another with ſuch rapidity, that traces, which at the firſt moment ſeem indelible, are ſoon obliterated from the mind by thoſe which follow. The indignation which neceſſarily accompanies ſuch impreſsions is a virtuous, and a conſervative ſentiment, and ought to be cheriſhed with all poſsible care.

A very intereſting enumeration of the inſults offered by the French Republic to the Sovereigns of Europe, in the perſons of their Ambaſſadors, is to be found in the Mercure Britannique, vol. I. page 448 and 470.

The author of the above work alſo details the various ſpoliations committed by the Republic on foreign countries, *during the ſpace of three years*, and which he divides into three parts.

1ſt. Contributions, properly ſo called, exacted in money from the conquered, or revolutionized countries. Theſe he makes to amount to 655,315,000 livres Tournois.

2. Robberies, properly ſo called, taken on account of the French Government, and conſiſting in valuable effects, bullion, plate, jewels, furniture, horſes, and gratifications, &c. amounting to 305,110,000 Liv. indepentently of *unauthoriſed* rapine by generals, officers, commiſſaries, ſoldiers, the ſum of which defies all calculation.

3. Requiſitions, extorted by way of loan, or in goods and merchandizes, or a pecuniary equivalent for either; pillage of the magazines, &c. amounting to 361,000,000 Liv.

To all this may be added, the confiſcations and requiſitions of the property of the Churches, nobles, emigrants, corporations, royal domains, &c. in the incorporated countries, which cannot be leſs than 700,000,000 Liv.

The whole amounts to above two milliards of livres Tournois, or nearly 100 millions ſterling; without noticing the depredations committed on the Arts and Sciences by the plunder and deſtruction of ſtatues, paintings, antiquities. Loſſes of this deſcription exceed all eſtimation. See Merc. Brit. v. 2. p. 66.

Such has been the conduct of the French Republic to one half of Europe, even at the time when ſhe had the other half to conquer. What then would mankind have to expect, if, in conſequence of her ſucceſſes in war, or, which is ſtill more probable, by means of her treaties of peace, the whole of Europe ſhould be brought to lie at her

her mercy? A ſuppoſition which paſt occurrences forbid us to conſider as abſolutely chimerical—a ſuppoſition which, after the treaty of Campo Formio, would have been realized, if Bonaparte, at the head of his Army of England, aſſembled on the Gallic coaſt, could have ſhaken the firmneſs of the Britiſh Government, and have inſpired it with that conciliating, wavering, timid policy, which has brought ruin upon Switzerland. If at that moment the Britiſh Monarch (may the ſuggeſtion be pardoned), hoping to appeaſe the fury of France, and to ſtifle the cries of Faction, had been prevailed on to part with the Miniſters, whoſe energy had rendered them odious to both; the fate of Britain—of Europe—of the world—had been ſealed. Nor is the danger paſſed. The peril, though apparently leſs imminent, is ſtill impending, and will continue to be ſo while the French Republic has any being. Whatever internal changes that Republic may experience, the only queſtion at iſſue between her and the reſt of mankind will continue to be, whether or no ſhe ſhall render the face of the earth one vaſt ſcene of deſolation and anarchy. Whatever rulers her inceſſant revolutionary movements may place at her head, it will not be in their power to reſtrain her fury, when ſhe ſhall have attained the undoubted object of all her exertions—the power of giving law to the whole world. It will ſcarcely be contended that thoſe rulers, whether they be Reubell

bell and Merlin, or Bonaparte and Syeyes, would be likely to learn moderation from ſucceſs—that, ſtung by remorſe, or glutted with proſperous ambition, they would exert themſelves to mitigate the ſufferings of humanity.—Admitting, however, the conjecture, much as it outrages both reaſon and *experience*, that men who had ſet at defiance all laws, divine and human, who had, till then, proved themſelves deaf to the voice of conſcience, and invulnerable to the ſtings of remorſe, ſhould, in the moment of victory and exultation, become mild, humane, juſt and merciful; it would not be in their power to ſtop the torrent which they had let looſe. They would not be able to "ride in the whirlwind and direct "the ſtorm." They might as well hope to alter the courſe of nature, and arreſt the planets in their rapid whirl, as to preſcribe bounds to the infuriate demon of anarchy, when all the ancient bulwarks of ſocial order ſhall be laid low. Who yet has been able to control the French revolution? How many of the firſt movers, and of the chief ſupporters of that revolution, have been the victims of its fury? How many of both has it not daſhed in pieces, at the moment they thought themſelves able to give it whatever direction they choſe? How few, how very few of thoſe who moſt contributed to ſet and to keep it in motion, have eſcaped its wanton and indiſcriminate rage? Has not this unnatural

monſter

monſter devoured her friends and her enemies, her parents and her children? If, therefore, it were poſsible that Bonaparte, the moſt ambitious, and the moſt miſchievous of all her agents, ſhould be ſo changed, ſince he was the invader of Italy and Egypt, as to be deſirous of moderating her foreign ſyſtem, he would ſoon become the victim of his temerity.

It is in the nature of all great moral ſyſtems, and particularly of miſchievous ones, to be too powerful for their agents. Even thoſe of a mild and beneficent tendency, which, like the conſtitution of a country, act by habit, and which have for their object peace, order, and harmony, are ſuperior to the control of man, and baffle all endeavours to make them change their character, and to conform with the ſpeculations of fancy and caprice. But ſyſtems of a deſtructive kind are ſtill leſs manageable. They act not by habit but by paſsion, and their force muſt be in proportion to that of the paſsions by which they are impelled. This depends upon the natural violence of thoſe paſsions, and upon the degree of excitement they receive, as well from the magnitude of the object purſued, as from the number of perſons engaged in the purſuit. Hence it is eaſily accounted for, why the French Revolution has diſplayed a degree of violence, unprecedented in all the commotions which have convulſed the earth. That Revolution, the prin-

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ciple of which is altogether ſubverſive, acts by the moſt vehement and outrageous paſsions of human nature; its object is of the greateſt poſſible magnitude—no leſs than the overthrow of all ſubſiſting eſtabliſhments, Religious, civil, and moral, with an entire change in the condition of man; and it combines, in the purſuit of that object, though by very different motives, the greateſt portion of ſociety, and the greateſt variety of it's claſſes, that were ever brought to co-operate actively in any cauſe; producing, in theſe countleſs multitudes, a conſciouſneſs of invincible ſtrength, and a ſympathetic enthuſiaſm, which not only defies all oppoſition, but leads to the moſt unbounded exceſſes. No wonder that ſuch a machine, when once ſet in motion, ſhould have laid in the duſt eſtabliſhments which had been the work of ages, and which had withſtood all the aſſaults of time. What, then, can be expected to reſtrain its violence, or to reſiſt it's fury, when it ſhall have imparted the revolutionary impulſe to the whole ſocial ſyſtem?

It appears, then, that the triumph of the French Republic would be a calamity of univerſal extent, and incalculable duration—a calamity which has no example in preceding times, which would entail miſery and barbariſm on ages to come, and which, as far as relates to the intereſts of this life, would be ſtill more tremendous than that dreadful diſplay of Divine vengeance, which, by a wide-ſpreading and reſtleſs deluge, at once ſwept

away

away the inhabitants of the Globe. That deluge almoſt unpeopled the earth, and ſwallowed up at once a whole generation of men, ſparing only eight perſons to behold the awful ſcene of deſolation, and to preſerve the flame of human life from extinction. But the *moral* deluge which now threatens the world, after overwhelming with inſtant deſtruction a large portion of mankind, would leave the unfortunate ſurvivors to deplore their *exiſtence* as the greateſt of misfortunes, and to become living victims of ſavage diſcord, of outrageous paſsion, of unbridled vice, of devaſtating anarchy, of fell deſpair.

If, after a trance of ten years, a man were now to open his eyes on the ſcene which daily preſents itſelf to our view—when he came to compare that ſcene with the ſtate of general quiet, order, and legal protection, which every where prevailed at the commencement of the above period—when he came to contemplate the inexpreſsible misfortunes which imminently threaten the human race—it is difficult to ſay whether he would be more aſtoniſhed at the incredible change which had taken place during his oblivious ſlumber, or at the inſenſibility which mankind diſplay on the awful occaſion. They would appear to him to be walking blindfold on the brink of a dreadful precipice.—How great would be his ſurprize to ſee the various claſſes of ſociety purſuing their uſual rounds of buſineſs, and pleaſure, with as much uncon-

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cern as if no danger were near, and without ſeeming to perceive the abyſs which is before them! How great would be his aſtoniſhment to find ſo large a proportion of Europe in a ſtate of total inaction, oppoſing no reſiſtance to that deſtructive force, which is daily overthrowing ſome pillar of the ſocial edifice? How could he believe the evidence of his ſenſes, when he beheld ſo many ſtates in perfect harmony with the irreconcileable enemy of all ſtates, and waiting, with ſmiles of complacency, and expreſsions of friendſhip, for their own turn to be devoured by this inſatiable monſter? When he ſaw not merely the Kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark madly deſpiſing thoſe perils, againſt which no diſtance can afford protection, but even a very large portion of the German Empire, incapable of being rouſed by the ſolemn and reiterated warnings, which experience daily ſounds in its ears of the deſtructive deſigns and perfidious arts of France? When he ſaw the mighty power of Pruſsia idle and unemployed, although, if thrown into the ſcale of the allied Powers, it would make the French Republic kick the beam—when he ſaw that Puiſſant Monarchy laid aſleep, as it were by enchantment, while its ruin is approaching with haſty ſtrides; inſenſible not only to the common danger, but to its own injuries, to the uſurpation of its provinces, to the oppreſsion of

its ſubjects, to the violation of neutrality; when he ſaw it deaf to the calls of nature, which lately ſummoned it to join in an enterpriſe, for the reinſtatement of a kindred Prince in his lawful Government, which it had ſolemnly guaranteed;—an enterprize to which it could eaſily have enſured ſucceſs, and which, if ſucceſsful, would have reſtored a moſt important barrier to its own dominions, and to the whole of Europe? But how could he be made to believe, that another Monarchy, the ſceptre of which is wielded by a Bourbon, is devoting its whole force to ſupport a Regicide Republic, founded on the ruins of the Throne of Louis XVIth, and cemented by his blood? That to the madneſs of defending a power, which is at open war with Royalty, a King can ſuperadd the inconceivable baſeneſs of allying himſelf, by the cloſeſt ties, with the murderers of his neareſt relatives, with the inveterate perſecutors of the ſurvivors of that Houſe from which he derives his deſcent, and to which he is indebted for his Crown?

Nor is the conduct of the powers actually engaged in the conteſt with France, much leſs calculated to fill the beholder with aſtoniſhment, than that of the reſt of Europe It is a truth too obvious to be diſputed, that the war on the part of thoſe powers is a war for *exiſtence*. They are fighting for their own preſervation, and for that of all civilized ſociety. In ſuch a

war

war it might reaſonably be expected that they would co-operate with a zeal and energy, which would compenſate for the apathy and ſupineneſs of their neighbours. That, for the firſt time in hiſtory, a coalition would be actuated by one ſoul; and that, ſecure from the pernicious influence of crooked policy, ſiniſter views, and partial intereſts, it would purſue, with harmony and confidence, its indiſpenſable object —the common ſafety. But, unfortunately, moſt of the powers which have taken up arms againſt the French Republic, have acted as if they had been at war with an ambitious Monarch, rather than with a band of uſurping Regicides, who fight for the extirpation, not merely of Monarchy, but of all eſtabliſhed Government;—as if the queſtion had been rather what territories they ſhould annex to their reſpective dominions, than whether they ſhould have any dominions or territories at all;—as if they were more apprehenſive of each other than of the common enemy. They do not appear to have diſcovered, that all the powers engaged in ſuch a cauſe, had a perfect identity of intereſt; and that their object was as ſimple and obvious, as it was important and indiſpenſable. In ſhort, they do not ſeem to have been at all aware of the awful ruin to which they were expoſed, and of the unſpeakable value of the occaſion which the combination of

ſo mighty a force afforded them, for the extermination of a foe, who would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than their total deſtruction.

For want of being duly impreſſed by theſe important conſiderations, and of co-operating with that concert, harmony and vigour, which ſuch an impreſsion could not have failed to enſure, the firſt League, which had been produced—not by a prudential ſenſe of common danger, but by an actual attack on every one of its members—melted gradually away, and the different powers of which it was compoſed, with a ſingle honourable exception, fought, ſucceſsively, in peace, for that ſafety which could only be found in a vigorous and perſevering proſecution of the war. Many of thoſe powers have atoned, with their exiſtence, for the folly of venturing to treat with ſuch an enemy; and the unreſtrainable fury of the French Republic has compelled a new Coalition to ſtand forward, for the defence of the remains of civil ſociety. But it could ſcarcely be doubted, that this ſecond league, with the errors and the fate of the firſt before its eyes, would have profited by ſo inſtructive a leſſon—that, thankful to Almighty God for affording mankind another opportunity of eſcaping from the jaws of deſtruction, its councils and its arms would have been devoted to the improvement of that opportunity to the utmoſt. But, incredible as it muſt ſeem, we look in

vain even to this Coalition, for that unity of ſyſtem, that harmony of meaſures, that accord of wills, which would have been the unavoidable reſult of a combination, founded upon theſe wiſe and honourable principles. The ſucceſſes which, in ſpite of the incalculable diſadvantage of a diverſity of views, have ſignalized the laſt campaign, declare, in a ſtriking manner, what happy effects it might have produced, if the allies had been actuated by unity of ſentiment; if they had ſteadily and uniformly directed all their exertions to the only object worth their purſuit—the general and permanent ſecurity of Europe.

It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that two of the three great Powers, who form the preſent alliance, are ſafe from all reproach in the above reſpect. To the honour of Great Britain be it remembered, that her vaſt reſources have, during the whole war, been devoted ſolely to the attainment of that general ſafety, without which there can be no particular ſafety. To her honour, be it recorded, that ſhe has ſpared no expenſe, of blood or treaſure, to preſerve *other* nations, as well as *herſelf*, from that wide ſpreading flood, which threatens to ſwallow up all in one common ruin. And if it ſhall pleaſe Providence to permit ſociety to eſcape from this perilous criſis, it will be indebted, under Heaven, for its ſafety, to the magnanimous, perſevering, and generous efforts of Great Britain in the common cauſe.

It is alſo evident to the whole world, that a pure, noble and generous deſire, to co-operate in the deliverance of Europe from the unprecedented dangers to which it is expoſed, and in the eſtabliſhment of its ſecurity and independence on a ſolid and permanent baſis, has inſpired the Councils, and animated the exertions of that truly illuſtrious Prince, the Emperor of all the Ruſsias, The dominions of this Monarch were ſecure from all preſent danger—they were protected againſt all attack from the French Republic, by intervening territories of vaſt extent, and by immenſe armies, in the maintenance of which he was at no expenſe. He might, with more propriety than any other European Potentate, have urged his remoteneſs from the ſcene of action, and of danger, as a pretence for not interfering in the conteſt.—He might, with more prudence than any other, have relied for his ſafety on the exertions of thoſe Powers, whoſe immediate exiſtence was expoſed, on the chances of the ſubſiſting war, on the apparently inſuperable obſtacles which muſt be overcome, before the French arms could approach his frontiers, and on the greatneſs of the force he could oppoſe to them, ſhould they ever be able to ſurmount thoſe obſtacles.—He might have pleaded, in excuſe for repoſe, that he had leſs intercourſe and connection with France than any other European Monarch. But he had too enlarged a mind, and too juſt an idea of the nature of the preſent conteſt,

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to ſuffer ſuch conſiderations, or any conſiderations, to ſeduce him into a ſtate of inactivity. No ſooner had he, after his acceſsion, regulated his domeſtic adminiſtration, than he bent the mighty force of his immenſe Empire to the ſupport of a cauſe, which Powers, much more nearly intereſted in it, had wholly deſerted; and his armies traverſed a large portion of the Globe, to meet an enemy, whoſe encroachments and ravages were viewed with indifference by many neighbouring States. Nor was his interference prompted, on the one hand, by any ſelfiſh or ambitious views, or on the other, by the enthuſiaſm of an uſeleſs and vain-glorious cruſade. Neither did any ſelfiſh views of ambition or aggrandizement influence his exertions:—he has given the moſt inconteſtable proofs that he was actuated ſolely by that wiſe and liberal policy, which conſiders general ſecurity as a neceſſary bulwark to each individual State:—he prudently anticipated the danger to which his own Empire would be expoſed, if France ſhould be permitted to deſtroy that balance of power, which has ſo long been conſidered as eſſential to the ſafety of every European nation:—he wiſely foreſaw the perils which would aſſail his own Government, and the miſeries which awaited his own ſubjects, if France ſhould be allowed to eſtabliſh her oppreſsive and anarchical ſway in the heart of Europe:—he felt, in a manner which reflected the higheſt honour

both on his head and his heart, the intereſt which he and his people had, not only in protecting thoſe countries which ſerved as a barrier to his own dominions, but alſo in reſcuing thoſe which had been ſeized by the Revolutionary graſp of France, and in reſtoring them to their lawful Sovereigns: in ſhort, he was fully ſenſible of the important and indiſputable truth, that neither Religion, Government, laws, perſons, nor property can, in any country, be ſafe, ſo long as this their irreconcileable foe, the French Republic, continues to exiſt.

Such were the enlightened views which induced this Prince to take a decided and ſtrenuous part in the Confederacy againſt France; and the whole of his conduct, as a member of that Confederacy, has demonſtrated, that in ſo doing he was actuated ſolely by a ſenſe of his duties to Himſelf, to his Crown, to his People, and to Mankind, at ſuch a juncture. It has already pleaſed Providence to reward him by ſucceſſes, which will tranſmit his name with veneration, to the lateſt poſterity; and which have ſecured to the illuſtrious General, by whoſe talents they were achieved, the higheſt rank in the annals of military renown. Succeſſes, which have ſnatched millions of the human race from the jaws of anarchy, reſtored a large portion of Europe to the boſom of civil ſociety, arreſted the progreſs of rapine and deſolation, and afforded mankind an opportunity, (may they be wiſe enough to improve

prove it,) to eſcape from the deſtruction, which a little before ſeemed almoſt inevitable. In the moment of victory, this magnanimous Emperor has ſhewn himſelf unalterably true to his principles. Inſtead of being tempted, either by occaſion or example, to liſten to the dictates of ambition—inſtead of relaxing into a narrow, ſhort-ſighted and temporizing policy, he choſe that moment to proclaim to the world, in the moſt frank and explicit terms, the real nature and the full extent of his views. By a Declaration particularly addreſſed to the Members of the Germanic Empire, and dated September 15, 1799 (a date previous to the unfortunate reverſes which befel the combined arms in Switzerland), he thus announced the motives which governed his conduct, and the objects to which his efforts and his victories ſhould be directed:

" His Imperial Majeſty, the Emperor of all " the Ruſsias, ever animated with zeal for the " cauſe of Sovereigns, and wiſhing to put a ſtop " to the ravages and diſorders which have been " ſpread, by the impious Government under " which France groans, to the remoteſt coun- " tries—being fully determined to diſpatch his " ſea and land forces for the ſupport of the ſuf- " ferers, and to reſtore Royalty in France, with- " out, however, admitting any partition of that " country; to re-eſtabliſh the ancient forms of " Government in the United Netherlands and

" in

" in the Swiſs Cantons; to maintain the in-
" tegrity of the German Empire, and to look
" for his reward in the happineſs and tranquil-
" lity of Europe. Providence has bleſſed his
" arms, and hitherto the Ruſsian troops have
" triumphed over the enemies of Thrones, Re-
" ligion, and Social Order.

" His Majeſty, the Emperor of all the Ruſsias,
" having thus declared his views, and the mo-
" tives by which he is guided, addreſſes this
" Declaration to all the Members of the German
" Empire, inviting them to unite their forces
" with his, to deſtroy their common enemy as
" ſpeedily as poſsible, in order to found on his
" ruins permanent tranquillity for themſelves and
" their poſterity.

" Should his Imperial Majeſty of all the Ruſ-
" ſias perceive that they ſupport his views, and
" rally around him, he will, inſtead of relaxing
" his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not ſheath
" his ſword before he has ſeen the downfal of
" the monſter, which threatens to cruſh all legal
" authorities. But ſhould he be left to himſelf,
" he will be forced to recall his forces to his
" ſtates, and to give up a cauſe ſo badly ſup-
" ported by thoſe, who ought to have the
" greateſt ſhare in its triumph.

" *Gatſchina, Sept.* 15 *(Old Style)*, 1799."

What a ſcene of true Grandeur is here diſ-
played! How little does this Declaration make

thoſe

thoſe Sovereigns appear, who have hitherto been diſtinguiſhed by the title of Great! Where does the page of hiſtory preſent a ſpectacle to be compared with that of a Monarch, vanquiſhing armies which had enſlaved whole nations, and which threatened to deſolate the earth, and driving them from their conqueſts, with the celerity of the eagle's flight—reducing, in quick ſucceſsion, the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes—pledging the whole force of his Empire to ſtill more vigorous efforts, for the complete overthrow of the enemy—and, when his arms are every where triumphant, when his proſpect of ſucceſs is moſt bright, openly diſclaiming all views of aggrandizement, renouncing all acquiſition of territory, dedicating all his triumphs to the cauſe of Religion and ſocial order—to the intereſts of humanity; and declaring that he looks for his reward only in the re-eſtabliſhment of lawful Government, the ſecurity of independent nations, and the reſtoration of general happineſs and tranquillity!

If the other Powers which have been engaged in war with the French Republic, had confederated upon the principles avowed in this Manifeſto, it is impoſsible to doubt that Europe would long ere now, have been delivered from infinitely the worſt enemy that ever diſturbed her repoſe. A Coalition, formed upon ſuch principles, would have been ſafe from thoſe heart-burnings, jealouſies and diviſions, which have

have enfeebled the efforts, and diſconcerted the operations of the Allies in the preſent conteſt: it would have produced harmony and concert, by inſpiring a general conviction that all parties were purſuing the common intereſt: it would have drawn to a focus of irreſiſtible ſtrength that force which, diverging in a variety of directions, has been found weak and inefficient; and it would have put it out of the power of the Republican Tyrants to render the French people really hoſtile to the allied arms; for it would have deprived them of their pretext, that thoſe arms were employed, not for the deliverance of France, but for its ſubjugation and diſmemberment—not for the purpoſe of reſtoring its lawful Government, but of ſubjecting it to a foreign yoke. There is no degree of domeſtic oppreſsion which a people will not endure, rather than conſent to the ſacrifice of their national independence, and to the partition of their country: and the mere ſilence of the combined Powers reſpecting their real object and deſigns (to ſay nothing of the ſtrong ſymptoms which have appeared in the conduct of ſome of them, of being ſelfiſh and actuated by ambitious views), was abundantly ſufficient to render them objects of ſuſpicion to the French Nation.

It is, indeed, impoſsible to view, without admiration, the vaſt exertions which the Houſe of Auſtria has made, and the ſeemingly inexhauſtible

hauſtible reſources which ſhe has diſplayed, during the preſent war. It is impoſsible to reflect, without aſtoniſhment and gratitude, on the immenſe armies which ſhe has ſo often poured into the field—on the diſcipline, perſeverance and bravery of thoſe armies—on the talents of the Generals who have led them to victory, and ſuſtained them in defeat—and, particularly, on the wonderful combination of every military excellence in the youthful Hero, who has been the Tutelar Angel of the German Empire. But it is alſo impoſsible, without the deepeſt regret, to ſee the unſpeakable value of ſuch advantages thrown away, and their beſt luſtre tarniſhed, for want of the adoption of that ſyſtem of ſound, liberal and enlightened policy, which was alone calculated for ſucceſs in a conteſt of ſo extraordinary a nature.

With every reſpect for the perſonal character of his Imperial Majeſty, who is a virtuous and amiable Prince, and moſt juſtly beloved by his ſubjects, it muſt be allowed that his Councils have purſued a ſyſtem, which, however ſuitable to former wars, was the moſt dangerous that could be adopted in a war, on the reſult of which depended the very exiſtence of ſociety. Inſtead of acting upon the incontrovertible principle, that the preſervation of his Empire depended upon that of all lawful Empire—inſtead of ſeeming to be aware that his fate was inſeparably

parably interwoven with that of the dethroned Monarch of France—inſtead of endeavouring, by all poſsible means, to lay aſleep the ancient jealouſies of neighbouring or rival Powers, and to engage them in a cordial and confidential co-operation in the common cauſe—thoſe Councils have evidently ſought to combine two objects, in themſelves incompatible at ſuch a juncture—the ſafety of their Maſter's Throne, with an extenſion of his dominions. They have not been able to reſolve on the ſacrifice of this laſt object of ordinary ambition, much as that ſacrifice was called for by the indiſpenſable object of preſervation; and therefore, though they have, doubtleſs, diſplayed much commendable vigour and exertion, their conduct has been marked with that indeciſion and inconſiſtency, which muſt ever accompany an endeavour to reconcile two repugnant and contradictory purſuits. In aiming to add a few Jewels to their Sovereign's Crown, they have expoſed it to be thrown in the dirt, and trampled upon by Regicides; and they have endangered the very exiſtence of his Empire, by endeavouring to annex to it ſome precarious and inſecure poſſeſsions.

To the diverſity of the views which have actuated the Councils of the two Imperial Courts, it is, perhaps, owing, that the campaign of 1799, brilliant and advantageous as it has been, has not terminated with that deciſive ſucceſs, with which, at one time, it promiſed to be crowned. When

confederates in war purſue different objects, it would be next to a miracle if complete ſucceſs attended their operations. " Nec aliud adverſus " validiſsimas gentes utilius, quam quod in com- " mune non conſulant. Rarus duabus tribuſve " civitatibus ad propulſandum commune peri- " culum conventus—Ita—DUM SINGULI PUG- " NANT UNIVERSI VINCUNTUR." Tac. Hence the Coalition, which a few months ſince bade fair (at leaſt in the eyes of thoſe, who did not reflect on the diſcordant plans of its members), to overcome all oppoſition, ſeemed, very ſhortly afterwards, to be at the point of diſſolution, and Europe, with agonies of deſpair, was in expectation of ſeeing thoſe northern heroes, who came from far diſtant regions for her deliverance, abandoning the field where they had acquired immortal glory, and, returning, *re infectâ*, to their homes. Deplorable as ſuch an event would have been, who could have cenſured their illuſtrious Sovereign, for refuſing any longer to expoſe his armies to the diſaſtrous conſequences which, as reaſon ſuggeſts, and as experience has proved, muſt ever attend an alliance, not founded upon ſympathy of feeling and conformity of views. By the invincible operation of theſe radical defects in the preſent Confederacy, the Ruſsian armies have not only been checked in their career of victory, and dreadfully reduced in their numbers, but one of them—the one which had acquired the brighteſt trophies—was brought into a ſituation from which

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it could not have been extricated, unleſs it had been commanded by the firſt General of the age; who led it through regions almoſt impaſſable, and in the face of an enemy, greatly ſuperior in numbers, and fluſhed with recent ſucceſs, by a march, which will fill diſtant ages with aſtoniſhment. The clear and explicit manifeſtation, which his Imperial Majeſty of all the Ruſsias has made of his own intentions, and the truly honourable nature of the motives which he has avowed, would have juſtified him in the eyes of all Europe for withdrawing from an alliance, in which he had ſuffered ſo much, when he no longer ſaw it directed to an object which he juſtly conſidered as indiſpenſable.

Notwithſtanding ſuch diſcouraging appearances, the heart, anxious to avoid the loſs of every thing which it holds dear, ſtill flattered itſelf that a Coalition, the formation of which had filled it with tranſport, though now ſeeming to be holden together but by a ſingle thread, would not yet be diſſolved. It cheriſhed a conſolatory perſuaſion, that the Ruſsian Monarch, though he diſcontinued exertions which ſeemed to give no promiſe of ultimate ſucceſs, was incapable of deſerting a Cauſe, with the importance of which he had ſhewn himſelf ſo deeply impreſſed, and of his zeal for which, he has given ſuch ſolid proofs; Nor have theſe, its fond hopes been diſappointed. Still, however, the Alliance, although it has hitherto ſuſtained itſelf under the diſcordant views of its members, cannot

afford

afford any rational ground for confidence as to its ultimate reſult, unleſs it adopt the ſyſtem which his Ruſsian Majeſty has pledged himſelf never to abandon, and which is, in fact, no leſs wiſe—than grand, dignified and honourable. That ſyſtem is the only one which is calculated for ſucceſs, in a war with the French Republic; and, indeed, the only one by which a league againſt that Republic can be long holden together. An alliance formed upon any other principles, however it may flouriſh for a time, contains within itſelf the ſeeds of its own deſtruction. Its feeble texture could endure neither the rays of proſperity, nor the rude blaſts of adverſity. No league can be the guardian and preſerver of Europe but one, the members of which ſhall engage—" to reſtore Royalty in France, " without admitting any partition of that coun- " try; to deſtroy the common enemy as ſpeedi- " ly as poſsible, and to found upon his ruins, " permanent proſperity for themſelves and for " poſterity." One, in ſhort, which ſhall be animated by a determined purpoſe " Not to ſheath " the ſword, until it ſhall have produced the " downfal of the Monſter which threatens to " cruſh all legitimate authority *."

Is

* The author having, under the impreſſion of that ſolicitude which the critical ſtate of the world is calculatd to excite, frequently obtruded his ſentiments upon the public during the preſent war; and having ventured as frequently to expreſs his firm conviction, that the preſervation of civil ſociety called loudly upon

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Is there an individual in Europe who can ſeriouſly doubt that a Coalition formed upon theſe principles, though it ſhould comprize only the Powers which are now in arms againſt France, would be pregnant with ruin to the French Republic? Is there one who can point out any other plan, which affords a reaſonable expectation of delivering the world from its implacable foe? What object, excepting that which is unfolded in the above Declaration, can poſsibly inſpire the members of any coalition with reciprocal confidence; harmonize and concentrate

the Powers of Europe to confederate for the reſtoration of the French Monarchy, without any diſmemberment, he hopes he may, without preſumption, refer the Reader to "The Retroſpect," pages 148 to 164—185 to 191—244 to 255—385 to 387, for an expoſition of the reaſoning which occurred to his mind, in ſupport of the above opinion.

He hopes he may alſo be here permitted to make one obſervation. It has often, on reflection, ſtruck him as a moſt ſingular occurrence, that an Engliſhman ſhould thus ſtand forward an advocate for reſtoring to the French Monarchy all its Continental Dominions. This ſeemed to him the more ſingular, as he was conſcious of all thoſe ſentiments of jealouſy, with regard to France, which are indigenous to an Engliſh breaſt. He felt, and ſtill feels, the utmoſt indignation at the ambition and ſpirit of encroachment, by which the French Monarchy had acquired many of thoſe territories, for the reſtoration of which to the Houſe of Bourbon he has repeatedly contended. How novel then, how extraordinary muſt be the ſituation of Europe, which can reconcile ſuch apparent inconſiſtencies! What a danger muſt that be, which ingulphs all former perils, and calls upon mankind to lay aſide their habitual jealouſies and inveterate reſentments, and to bury their greateſt provocations and injuries under one grand effort for their common—their immediate preſervation!

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their operations; and preſerve their union, until it may be diſſolved with ſafety? Notwithſtanding the clear and indiſputable juſtice of the war on the part of every one of the Powers which have been engaged againſt France—notwithſtanding the obvious and imperious neceſsity which compelled every one of thoſe Powers, however reluctantly, to take up arms—notwithſtanding the common intereſt which ſeemed to unite them all in an indiſſoluble bond, for their mutual defence—yet the want of a preciſe, and an avowed object, has ſurmounted all theſe conſiderations—diſſolved their alliance—and expoſed them, ſeparately and unconnectedly, to all the fury of the foe. The ſame circumſtance has afforded the enemies of order their moſt plauſible ground for exultation. How often have the clubs and the chronicles, devoted to the cauſe of anarchy—how often have the factious and ſeditious Senators, (for ſedition has aſſumed even the Senatorial character) who ſupport that cauſe, triumphed in the want of a diſtinct and declared object, on the part of Allies—in the uncertainty of their deſigns, the indeciſion of their councils, and the fluctuation of their meaſures? It was, indeed, a fair, candid, and, in one reſpect, a complete anſwer to all thoſe cavils, that the war was produced by the aggreſsion of France, and directed to the defence of Europe. But it was not ſufficient to purſue the ſame object, however neceſſary, without

agreeing on the means—the *cauſa efficiens*—in order to attain the ultimate end—the *cauſa finalis*. The omiſsion of this has expoſed the views of the allies to ſuſpicion, their conduct to reproach, and their exertions to failure. Nor can they hope for better ſucceſs until this fundamental error be corrected; until they agree both upon the means and the end; until they preſcribe to themſelves a definite object, to which all their efforts may be pointed. His Ruſsian Majeſty has preſented ſuch an object to their view, and promiſed to aſsiſt them with the whole ſtrength of his Empire to attain it—an object which would put an end to preſent jealouſies, and prevent, as much as poſsible, future diſputes—an object, the attainment of which would deliver Europe and the World from the moſt dreadful ſcourge that ever afflicted humanity, but without which the moſt expanſive mind cannot diſcover any bounds, either to the extent or duration of the calamities which threaten mankind—an object which is ſanctioned by honour, and demanded by juſtice, as well as dictated by policy—*to reſtore the rights of lawful Government in the countries ſtill under the dominion of anarchy, and particularly in France, which is the ſtrong hold of that ferocious monſter.* The propoſal, too, has been framed with ſuch prudence, that, while it ſuggeſts means which are fully adequate to the general political ſecurity, it avoids all ſubjects

which

which might occaſion any preſent queſtion, or difference between Sovereigns or States—it is ſufficiently explicit with regard to every thing that is eſſential to the ſafety and independence of Europe; and, ſurely, every ſubordinate conſideration may, with confidence, be left to the arrangement of a General Congreſs, which muſt, doubtleſs, ſucceed ſo violent and extenſive a convulſion, unleſs that convulſion be doomed to bury in one vaſt ruin the entire edifice of civil ſociety. The Sovereign or the Miniſter, who chooſes obſtinately to perſiſt in projects of ambition or aggrandizement, rather than accede to ſuch a propoſal, is chargeable with folly ſo egregious, as to admit of no compariſon except with the man who, to enjoy the fleeting gratification of illicit paſsion, expoſes himſelf not only to the loſs of temporal happineſs, but to the riſk of eternal miſery.

But, without being under the influence of ambitious motives, there is a large portion of mankind, who find themſelves unable to join in the manly reſolution of the Great Northern Potentate—*not to ſheath the ſword until they have ſeen the downfal of the Monſter, which threatens to cruſh all legal authorities.* They cannot call up firmneſs of mind to determine on a continuance of the war, until it ſhall have accompliſhed the complete deſtruction of the enemy. They wailingly aſk, muſt we then ſee no end to the ſtruggle? muſt we, at all events, continue the

war, and go on augmenting our debt, increaſing our burdens, and exhauſting our ſtrength, until France ſhall ceaſe to be a Republic? What are theſe queſtions but the repinings of the ſick man, who, groaning under a painful and obſtinate diſeaſe, inquires, muſt I ſtill endure theſe ſufferings? muſt I be confined to my bed and debarred from all the pleaſures of ſociety—all the enjoyments of life? muſt I ſtill take this loathed medicine? muſt my blood be again drawn forth, and my ſtrength be more and more waſted, without any proſpect of relief? yes, poor querulous patient, you muſt endure all this, if you would get the better of your malady—if you would again taſte the comforts of life—if you would not fall a victim to your diſorder. The French Republic is the moſt loathſome, malignant, and peſtilential diſeaſe that ever thinned the human race. Until this diſeaſe be exterminated, it will be impoſsible for ſociety to regain its priſtine health and vigour.

But what are the ſymptoms of ſuffering which can authorize ſuch reſtleſſneſs under a war to which we have hitherto been indebted for our ſafety? To which we owe "whatever remains in "Europe of ſtability for property, for perſonal li-"berty, for ſocial order, and for the free exerciſe of "Religion *." Are our increaſing commerce, our flouriſhing revenue, our growing luxury and diſ-

* Lord Grenville's *official* Note to Talleyrand.

ſipation—

ſipation—are the gaiety, levity, frivolity, and unconcern, which are diſplayed wherever we aſſemble—are theſe ſuch ſtriking proofs of the intolerable hardſhips of the war, as to juſtify our eagerneſs for its concluſion, before it can be concluded with ſafety and honour? There are, indeed, ſcenes of the greateſt miſery before our eyes; but theſe are to be found only in thoſe countries which have indulged their impatience for peace, or which have never been willing to exchange its bleſsings for the manly and conſervative exertions of war.

Another claſs of perſons are unwilling to pledge themſelves to irreconcileable hoſtility with the French Republic, not ſo much becauſe of any ſufferings attending, or likely to attend the war, but on account of the obſcurity in which the future is enveloped. They do not know what *may* happen, what reverſes and diſaſters *may* occur, what neceſsity *may* at length compel them to treat with this Republic. Conſidering ſuch an event as *poſsible*, and recollecting with what kind of enemy they have to do, a ſentiment of chilling fear glides into their minds, and ſuggeſts that it may be prudent not to incenſe that enemy too much, leſt he remember that they had ſworn eternal hatred againſt him. They reſemble the penitent, who, when he had made his offerings to the Saints whoſe interceſsion he implored, preſented a taper

to a figure of the Devil, not knowing how much he might afterwards be in the power of that enemy. Thus while, in the ſpirit of timid caution, they are careful to provide for the worſt, they ſtifle the energy, and ſuppreſs the exertion, which are neceſſary to prevent *that worſt* from taking place.

" And thus the native hue of reſolution
" Is ſicklied o'er with the pale caſt of thought;
" And enterprizes, of great pith and moment,
" In this reſpect their currents turn awry,
" And loſe the name of action."

Others again pleaſe their fancies with the contemplation of modifications in the Republican ſyſtem, which may make it ſafe to treat with France. They admit that, at preſent, the idea of peace is the moſt abſurd that can enter the human mind. That certainly France has no government which can negociate, and that the principles on which ſhe now acts are ſo repugnant to thoſe of the reſt of mankind, as to render all relations of peace and amity between her and other nations abſolutely impracticable. But, perhaps, the Republic may undergo a material change; perhaps ſhe may adopt the principles of civil ſociety; and then, becoming alſo moderate in her ambition, and conſenting to ſomething like a balance of power, ſhe and other countries may jog on together—not, indeed, with much cordiality, but, at leaſt, in ſullen repoſe and dubious tranquillity.

Inſtead

Inſtead of indulging ſuch idle dreams, which bear not the ſmalleſt ſemblance to probability, how much wiſer would it be to examine realities, to weigh events, and to conſult experience, in order to form a ſober and rational judgment of our actual ſituation, and of the means which are beſt calculated to lay the foundations of a ſafe and durable peace. We ſhould then find, that the hope of peace with the French Republic is the moſt extravagant and dangerous reverie that ever entered the human mind—a reverie begotten by Error, nurſed by Indolence, Puſillanimity, and Self-deceit, and leading in its train Diſgrace and Ruin.

It is a great misfortune that the preſent conteſt has been conſidered, by the bulk of mankind, in the light of an ordinary war—as a war for the mere preſervation of the balance of power—as a war, in which the only queſtion was, whether the reſt of Europe ſhould be defended by force of arms, or ſecured by treaties of peace, againſt the ambition of France. It ſhould ſeem, indeed, hardly poſsible for any one to conſider the war in ſuch a light, after the experience, which has been ſo dearly purchaſed, of the French Republic. But, as Lord Bacon obſerves, "when the mind haſtily imbibes "and treaſures up firſt notions of things, "whence all the reſt proceed, errors are apt to "prevail, and remain uncorrected; for the ori-

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" ginal notions being vitiated, confuſed, and " inconſiderately taken from things, and the " ſecondary ones formed no leſs raſhly, human " knowledge itſelf, the thing employed in all " our reſearches, is not well put together, nor " juſtly formed." The world now affords a melancholy proof, that theſe judicious obſervations are no leſs applicable to matters of fact than to matters of ſcience. The " original no- " tions" of mankind reſpecting the French Revolution, having been " vitiated, confuſed, and " inconſiderately taken from things," the moſt erroneous opinions of the war, which ſprang from that Revolution, have prevailed, and, to this moment, " remain uncorrected." And yet events have done a great deal to correct thoſe errors. It is impoſsible candidly to review the tranſactions of a very few years without being convinced, that the preſent conteſt admits but of one queſtion: Whether the French Republic, or the entire edifice of Civil Society, ſhall fall? This is a truth which does not now reſt upon conjecture, upon appearances, upon probabilities —it is not a mere deduction from the principles of the French Revolution and its republican offſpring, although it is clearly warranted by thoſe principles. Nor it is not ſupported merely by thoſe emphatical declarations, which were uttered before the Republic had iſſued from the womb of the Revolution, and which mankind, unfor-

tunately, treated with contempt; when Rochambeau told the revolters in Brabant, "the "friends of the French Revolution embrace the "whole world in their ſyſtem of philanthropy;" or when Danton told the Convention, with the greateſt truth, that "they were a Committee of "Inſurrection againſt all the Kings of the uni-"verſe;" when Briſſot told the National Aſſembly, "All Kings muſt hate your Conſtitution—it "brings them to their trial—it pronounces their "ſentence—it ſeems to ſay to each of them, "to-morrow thou ſhalt be no more, or thou "ſhall be a King of the peoples' erection;" or when the ſame Aſſembly adopted, by receiving with applauſe, and ordered to be printed and circulated, the addreſs of a deputation of Pariſh Children, who ſaid, "if you have had the glory "to render all France free, it will belong to the "riſing generation, it belongs to us, to carry "that conqueſt to the very extremities of the two "worlds;" or when, on numerous other occaſions, the founders of the Republic, in ſpite of all their artifices, could not help ſhewing the cloven foot. Inſtead of being ſupported only by ſuch evidence, ſtrong and convincing as it would be without any corroboration, the awful truth, that the war admits of no other alternative than the deſtruction of the Republic, or the ſubverſion of Society, is founded on the ſolid baſis of ſtubborn fact—it is eſtabliſhed on the immoveable

moveable foundations of experience—it is confirmed by an application of that moſt unerring, that *ſacred* rule, " By their fruits ye " ſhall know them"—it is proved by the four quarters of the globe—not merely by Europe, but alſo by Aſia, Africa, and America; each teſtifying, from its own experience, that mankind have no other way to regain tranquillity than to found it " upon the ruins" of this miſchievous Republic:—a Republic which, from the firſt moment of its exiſtence, has uniformly laboured, with unremitting aſsiduity, and with unabated malice, to overthrow all eſtabliſhed authority—to ſubvert every exiſting government—to annihilate every ſocial inſtitution, religious and civil—to raiſe inſurrection and revolt in every country—to excite every where the governed againſt the governors, and to propagate univerſally its own infidel, immoral, and anti-ſocial principles: a Republic which has ſhewn itſelf alike hoſtile to every form of Government—to every ſpecies of authority—to Monarchies and Republics—to Ariſtocracies and Democracies: a Republic which is alike inimical to all claſſes of ſociety—to all conditions of life—to all the ſocial relations—to the property, the perſonal ſecurity, and the domeſtic comforts of the meaneſt individuals, as well as of the moſt opulent and dignified perſonages; a Republic which makes peace ſtill more ſubſervient than war to its plans

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of univerſal deſtruction—which is far more dreadful as a friend than as an enemy—which violates every right of neutrality, which ſpurns at the laws of nations, and utterly diſregards its own treaties and engagements: a Republic, in ſhort, which is at open war with every principle that has hitherto been conſidered as eſſential to civilized ſociety—with the ſovereignty of Government, with the allegiance of ſubjects, with gradations of rank, with the ſacredneſs of property—with the ſanctity of marriage—with the obligations of morality—with the exiſtence of Religion.

Such is the Republic of France, not in apprehenſion, but reality; not in promiſe, but in act; not in accuſation, but in evidence. Such is it proved to be by the unvarying experience of ſeven years, and by the united teſtimony of the European, the American, the Turk, and the Egyptian. What can be ſo ridiculous as to imagine that ſuch a Republic can ever be admitted into the fellowſhip of civilized States—that ſo ferocious and ſo inſidious a monſter may be truſted in the fold of ſociety—that it can be metamorphoſed into a quiet, peaceable, harmleſs, orderly neighbour! Things do not thus become their own oppoſites; they do not thus change their elementary qualities, their eſſential natures, and become perfect contraſts to their former ſelves. Such transformations exiſt only in the brains of chimerical viſionaries. The French

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Republic was ſtamped, in its formation, with an indelible character of hoſtility to the whole ſyſtem of civil ſociety; and to ſuppoſe that it can ever coaleſce with a ſyſtem to which it is ſo repugnant, is no leſs abſurd than to expect that fire and water can loſe their antipathy, and mix together in friendly and harmonious intercourſe.

What, then, muſt be the credulity of thoſe perſons who look with confidence, or even with hope, to the Revolutionary changes which are inceſſantly occurring in France; and who, notwithſtanding the frequent diſappointments they have experienced in that reſpect, ſtill think that theſe ſuperficial appearances can alter the original *ſtamina*, the fundamental principles, the ſubverſive character of the Republic? Such changes are inſeparable from, and, indeed, neceſſary to that ſtate of anarchy, which admits only an oppreſsive power, to keep the people in chains, but which does not allow the eſtabliſhment of any regular and fixed authority. They are, as it were, the convulſive efforts of nature, whereby a Republic, ſo conſtituted, relieves itſelf, from time to time, of thoſe violent humours, which, if ſuffered to accumulate, would endanger its exiſtence. They are the eruptions of the volcano, which diſcharges its ſubterranean fires, that it may ſecretly generate matter for a freſh eruption. The Republic riſes out of theſe exploſions, like a Phœnix, with renovated vigour and increaſed activity. The individuals who take

take the lead on ſuch occaſions, however they may ſeem to take into their hands the deſtiny of France, are, in effect, but the inſtruments of the Republic, for her own preſervation. Far from acquiring any power to ſubject her to their will, they are themſelves impelled in her precipitate career; and they would be immolated to her fury, were they to attempt to check her deſtructive courſe. Amidſt all the ſmoke, hurry, and confuſion of theſe Revolutionary commotions, the *Genius* of the Republic rides triumphantly, threatening to trample under foot all who ſhall dare to obſtruct his progreſs.

All attempts to negociate for peace with a country, in which the exercife of power is ſo unſtable and fleeting, (to ſay nothing in this place of the principles which there predominate) muſt, to an ordinary underſtanding, ſeem fraught both with abſurdity and danger. A different opinion has, indeed, prevailed, during the whole war, among thoſe great political characters*, who conceive themſelves better qualified than the preſent Miniſters, to ſerve his Majeſty in the chief departments of the State. The opinion of thoſe gentlemen on this ſubject, however ſingular, may not appear ſo very extraordinary, when it is recollected, that they conſidered the French Re-

* This opinion is ſtill perſiſted in, and has been recently avowed in a very public manner by thoſe characters.

volution

volution as *the moſt ſtupendous edifice ever erected by human wiſdom and integrity*—by ſuch *wiſdom and integrity* (it may be fairly preſumed) as they meant to diſplay, if they had been able to obtain the direction of public affairs in this country; a ſuppoſition which is partly confirmed by their having zealouſly aſſerted, at the Whig Club, the favourite French doctrine—that main pillar of Jacobinical Treaſon—*the Sovereignty of the People* *. Without, however, extending our conjectures reſpecting the conduct they would, in that caſe, have purſued, further than the ſingle queſtion of peace, it is a ſubject of juſt congratulation, not only to Great Britain, but to the whole world, that they have not had an opportunity of indulging their pacificatory diſpoſitions. It is attended with no difficulty to conceive what would have been the fate of the Britiſh Monarchy—what that of Mankind, if theſe gentlemen had been in adminiſtration in the month of May, 1794; when his Grace the Duke of Bedford, in the Houſe of Lords, and Mr. Fox in the Houſe of Commons, moved a long ſtring of Reſolutions upon the ſubject of the war; by which Reſolutions it was propoſed to

* The *loyal* City of London, it now appears, is likely to behold, to its eternal diſgrace, its Chief Magiſtrate—a Magiſtrate of its own chooſing!!!—preſide, as Chairman, at the orgies of this Engliſh Jacobin Society.

both Houſes to declare, ' *inter alia*,' That, " *in conſequence of the events of the war on the Continent and elſewhere, all views of aggrandiſement and ambition on the part of France, ſuppoſing the French to entertain ſuch views, were evidently unattainable, and muſt be relinquiſhed; and that it was the duty of his Majeſty's Miniſters to avail themſelves of the then preſent circumſtances of the war, and to promote a pacification by every means in their power, by propoſing to France equitable and moderate conditions, and, above all things, by abſtaining from all interference in the internal affairs of France.*"

It is equally fortunate that theſe gentlemen were not in power in the following year, when Mr. Grey brought forward, in the Houſe of Commons, with the concurrence and ſupport of his political friends, this motion, " *That the exiſtence of the* " *preſent Government of France ought not to be* " *conſidered as precluding, at this time, a ne-* " *gociation for peace.*" During that year the party took every opportunity to enforce the ſame ſentiments in both Houſes, and to drive Miniſters to a negociation. In the month of February, in the following year, the gentlemen in queſtion perſiſted in the ſame courſe. They ſupported Mr. Grey in a motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty, praying him to " *communi-* " *cate to the Executive Government of the* " *French Republic, his readineſs to meet any diſpo-*

" *ſition to negociate, with an earneſt deſire to give it*
" *the ſpeedieſt effect.*"

But it cannot be neceſſary to enumerate all the occaſions which theſe gentlemen have taken during the war, in their Parliamentary capacity, to aſſert the expediency, and, indeed, the neceſsity, on the part of this country, of coming to terms of accommodation with the French Republic. It is well known that their inceſſant cry has been "*Oremus pacem, et dextras tendamus inermes.*" Nay, although they at length thought it proper to diſcontinue their Parliamentary attendance, they found means to inform the public that their ſentiments were not altered. This ſeceſsion from their *duty* afforded the moſt deciſive proof, that, on this great topic of pacification, they perceived, not merely that they had the worſt of the argument—(*that* was a difficulty which they were accuſtomed to encounter), but, that they could no longer make out even a plauſible caſe; that with all the aid which they were ſure of deriving from the popularity of the word *Peace*, ſuch was the impreſsive language of events, that this word could no longer be made to anſwer their purpoſe in the Houſes of Parliament. They therefore betook themſelves to their laſt reſource, the vague declamation of clubs and newſpapers. So lately as the 25th of October laſt, they evinced, that their opinions had then ſuffered no change, by inſerting in their leading

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paper, a long diſſertation on public affairs; the reſult of which was, that "The true policy of Europe "and the real intereſts of this country required "that a frank and ſincere advance to general ne-"gociation ſhould be made"—and they ſupported that poſition, by obſerving, that "there "had appeared in France ſymptoms of a fair and "honeſt deſire of peace, ſentiments of which "had been expreſſed in the Councils, not by "men, like the Fructidorians, *who had no deſign "but to perplex the Government*;" and they concluded their pacific effuſions, by obſerving, that "if we neglect to improve the favourable mo-"ment for negociation, we muſt be contented "to humble ourſelves in adverſity—there is "no alternative." Now, ſuppoſing we had followed this friendly advice, and had improved this ſo *favourable moment for negociation*—ſuppoſing that we had been able to conclude a peace on terms which might have defied the cavils of oppoſition itſelf, what would have become of that peace, when the Directory, with which it would have been concluded, and the Councils, by which it would have been ratified, were, in leſs than three weeks after the publication of theſe ſagacious reflections, ſwallowed up by that new Revolution which was then at hand, and of which the oppoſition member, who favoured the public with them, ſeems to have had no apprehenſion?

Pro hac vice, it is clear, beyond the poſsibility of ſuſpicion, that the Engliſh "Fructidorians" (for we too have our Fructidorians), were not in the confidence of the French Revolutioniſts. On the contrary, one of the few moſt prominent characters, during the late Revolutionary ſcenes at Paris, has moſt *ungratefully*, though moſt completely, anſwered all the ſpeeches, condemned all the *reſolutions*, and ſtamped with an indelible mark of abſurdity, all the *motions*, by which the Engliſh oppoſition have laboured, during the war, to recommend a negociation with the French Republic.

It muſt, in candour, be admitted, that all which has been ſaid by Mr. Pitt, and other Members of Parliament, in reply to thoſe ſpeeches, reſolutions, and motions, is inferior, in point of effect, to the reaſoning of Boulay de la Meurthe. No ſooner was the Government, with which we ſhould have negociated, driven beyond that Revolutionary "bourne from which "no traveller returns," than this man, who, it ſhould be remembered, was the mouth-piece of the *new* Government, ſelected by it for the expreſs purpoſe of explaining as much as was to be communicated of the ſituation of the Republic, and the nature of the recent Revolution, thus addreſſed the *rump* of the expelled Council of Five Hundred: "It is well known that peace "could not be concluded before the eſtabliſh-

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" ment of the Conſtitutional Government; for
" then there exiſted a Government, which called
" itſelf Revolutionary, and which, being the
" dominion of ſome men who were ſoon de-
" prived of power by others, conſequently af-
" forded no permanence of principles and views,
" no certain guaranty, either with reſpect to
" things or perſons."

When the *Conſtitutional* Government ſucceeded the *Revolutionary* one, was the caſe altered, with reſpect to the advantages for negociation? By no means; for, as Boulay de la Meurthe further obſerves, " It would ſeem that this permanence and
" guaranty ought to have exiſted from the eſta-
" bliſhment, and by the operation of the con-
" ſtitutional ſyſtem; and yet there were not
" *more*, but perhaps *leſs of them*, than before.
" We have, in truth, made ſome partial treaties;
" we have ſigned a continental peace; a general
" Congreſs aſſembled for the purpoſe of conſo-
" lidating it; but theſe treaties and diplomatic
" conferences appear to have been THE SOURCE
" *of a new war, ſtill more deſperate and bloody*
" *than the former.*"

The ſpeaker ſoon afterwards proceeds to aſk, on the ſuppoſition of treaties of peace having been reſorted to, " Where, in the actual ſtate
" of the political ſyſtem of France, could be the
" guaranty of their performance? Previouſly to
" the 18th of Fructidor, of the 5th year, the

" French Government preſented without but an " uncertain exiſtence, and no ſtate would treat " with it. After that great event, all power " being collected in the Directorial Body, the " Legiſlature was almoſt without exiſtence. — " Treaties of peace were quickly broken, and " the war was every where maintained without " the participation of the Legiſlative Body. The " ſame Directory, after *having terrified all Eu-* " *rope, and deſtroyed, according to its caprice, ſe-* " *veral Governments*, though unable to ſuſtain " *itſelf*, was thrown down by a breath of wind, " on the 30th Prairial, to make way for other " men, who might have different views, or be " the ſlaves of an oppoſite intereſt."

The concluſion from theſe premiſes is obvious, and is fairly ſtated: " Thus, if we form an " opinion according to well-known facts, the " French Government cannot be conſidered as " poſſeſsing any permanence, *either with reſpect* " *to men or things*;" and, therefore," it is found " difficult to *ſtipulate* conditions of peace, and " ſtill *more difficult to preſerve them.*"

So ſtands the queſtion of negociation down to the laſt Revolution, the 9th of November, 1799, according to the confeſsions of the actors in that Revolution. Is the caſe now altered? Are all the impediments which for ſo many years have rendered peace unattainable, entirely removed? Has the above event produced a Go-

vernment

vernment which " may be conſidered as poſſeſs-
" ing a permanence with reſpect both to men
" and things?" A Government which is not at all calculated to " terrify Europe?" which is not likely, " at its caprice, to deſtroy other Go-
" vernments?" or which is ſo well able " to
" maintain itſelf, that it is in no danger of be-
" ing thrown down by a breath of wind, to
" make way for other men, who may have dif-
" ferent views, or may be the ſlaves of a different
" intereſt?" Finally, is there no reaſon to ap-prehend that " treaties and diplomatic confe-
" rences," with this Government, may be " the
" ſource of a new war, ſtill more deſperate and
" bloody than the former?" Whatever opinion may be formed on theſe matters, one thing is indiſputable, that the change above deſcribed ought to be proved beyond all queſtion, before it can be ſafe to treat. It would be madneſs to enter upon negociation while any doubt re-mains on the ſubject. Of courſe, the *onus probandi*, that ſuch a change has taken place, lies upon thoſe who recommend " diplomatic con-
" ferences." If no other difficulty exiſted, every one muſt allow that ſufficient time has not elapſed to evince the ſtability of the new-born Government.

In ſome reſpects, indeed, that Government, notwithſtanding a few appearances to the contrary, has, (as Boulay de la Meurthe ſays of the Conſtitu-tional Government, when it ſucceeded the Revolu-

tionary one) " not more but leſs of permanence " and guaranty" than its predeceſſors. For though there may ſeem to be a concentration of power, which ſtrongly attracts the attention of thoſe philoſophers, who carefully mark and minute down all the *phaſes* of the French Revolution, there is much more loſt of ſtability by " things" than is gained by " perſons," in conſequence of the laſt change. For before that event the exiſting ſyſtem, ſuch as it was, was unqueſtionably more independent of perſons, than the one that has taken its place. Individuals in power might then be cut off, either by a violent or a natural death, and the ſyſtem could yet ſurvive. It had laſted for years, although the rulers, one after another, tumbled from their giddy heights. But whatever ſyſtem now prevails depends upon the precarious life of one man. With Bonaparte muſt fall the whole edifice of which he is the main pillar. The " Ides of March" would be fatal, not only to this would-be Cæſar, but to his Senate, his Tribunate, and his Legiſlative Body—with him, his whole Conſtitution would at once diſappear, and " leave not a rack behind."

Notwithſtanding the awfulneſs of the moment, it is difficult to refrain from ſmiling at the gravity and earneſtneſs with which political ſpeculators examine the new conſtitutional machine, which the ingenuity of Syeyes and the audacity of Bonaparte have preſented to the

French Nation. No matter that every other piece of conſtitutional machinery, which has been produced during the Revolution, has, by its ſpeedy fall, reduced all the profound diſquiſitions to which it gave birth, to a mere waſte of the valuable time and labour which were ſo employed. The quackery of *conſtitution-making* ſtill attracts the attention of multitudes, who, with open mouths, liſten to the wonderful ſtory of each new *panaceu*, as if they had never before been juggled out of their ſenſes. Nay, many who might have been expected to derive more benefit from experience, or, on ſuch a ſubject, to want no aid but that of reaſon and reflection to preſerve them from impoſture, diſcuſs the code, "*fait "a Paris, le 22 Frimaire, an 8 de la Republique "Françaiſe, une et indiviſible,*" with as much ſerioufneſs as if it were unchangeable, like the laws of the Medes and Perſians; as if, indeed, it were poſsible for a people in ſuch a manner to acquire a Conſtitution *. Others, who ridicule the ſuppoſition that this phantom will be more permanent than its predeceſſors, ſtill fall into the inconſiſtency of diſcuſsing very ſeriouſly the queſtion, whether it may not afford a baſis of

* The author hopes he may be excuſed from here dilating upon this very important ſubject, as he has already diſcuſſed it much at large in his "Obſervations on the Origin and Formation of Political Conſtitutions." See "Retroſpect," p. 265.

general

general tranquillity—whether it may not give peace to Europe and ſecurity to mankind.

Whatever changes may have been produced in the internal ſtate of France by the laſt Revolution, there cannot be a greater abſurdity than to conſider that event as favourable to external quiet. Even the internal changes which have attended it are rather imaginary than ſubſtantial. The principle and the effect of every former revolution, and of every previous conſtitution, have been to veſt power in the hands of a few individuals, while the people at large were inſulted, with the name of "liberty "and equality." This is preciſely the caſe at preſent, and the only difference is, that the power is more concentrated and the uſurpation of the tyranny is rather more bare-faced and unqualified; or, as it may be expreſſed, more "*ſans phraſes*," than heretofore. But although even the Oppoſition papers abuſed, as atrocious and deſpotic beyond all deſcription, the late change, and the new Conſtitution, (which, certainly, were not ſufficiently *a la Jacobin*, to gain the favour of thoſe Journals) until the merits of both came to be inomplicated, by means of the queſtion of peace, with thoſe of the Britiſh Miniſters; ſtill it is certainly true that the people in France have full as much liberty under their chief and *puiſne* Conſuls, as they were permitted to enjoy under their Directors, or the Committee of Public Safety.

But

But with regard to other countries, the Republic is ſtill under the ſame neceſsity, as before, of keeping alive the flame of foreign war. Deſtitute of any ſtable Government, her internal anarchy muſt ever produce external aggreſsion. With all her new trappings, ſhe is ſtill the "Republic, one and indiviſible," and ſhe boaſts, on the occaſion of this change, as ſhe has done on all former ones, that "the Republic is conſo-"lidated." She is, fundamentally ſo conſtituted, that ſhe cannot exiſt without *foreign* conqueſt, plunder, and revolution; and this fundamental principle of her natural conſtitution has ſurvived all the artificial conſtitutions ſhe has adopted. War is her natural element; and whatever other mutations ſhe may undergo, ſhe has too much inſtinct to quit the element in which alone ſhe can breathe. She well knows that ſhe would expire with inteſtine convulſions, if her violent humours could not procure vent by external hoſtility.

The oppoſition member who wrote the article before noticed, in the Morning Chronicle of the 25th of October laſt, declares, that "Peace is the "only mode by which the Revolutionary "phrenzy of France can be allayed. Battles, "victory, and conqueſt, are its food. They "prolong the paroxyſm of ſtrength that would "ſink, perhaps, into debility." It would ſurpaſs the ingenuity of this writer, and of his whole

whole party, to deviſe means which would compel the French Revolution to forego its food, and to reſign itſelf to a paroxyſm of debility.

But, independently of the belligerent *ſtamina* of the Republic, the new Government (if a Government it can be called) is under peculiar inducements to prevent a termination of the war. The preſent head of that Government is more impelled by diſpoſition and genius than any of his precurſors to military operations, without which, it is probable, he would not think life of any value. The quiet and repoſe of a general peace would to him be worſe than death. He already ſhows his impatience to be in the field; and, dangerous as it would be to his authority to truſt the peace of the capital in *other* hands, he tells his armies that he will ſoon be *in the midſt of them*. If, indeed, his reſtleſs and unbounded ambition did not lead him to abjure peace, neceſsity would produce the ſame effect. It is, however, conceived by ſome, that this new tyrant muſt wiſh for peace, that he may conſolidate his Government. The very reverſe of this happens to be the caſe. It is war alone that can afford him the ſmalleſt chance of eſtabliſhing his power. Whoever has obtained the anarchical ſceptre of France, has found foreign war indiſpenſable to prolong, even for a ſhort time, his uſurped authority. This is even more true with regard to Bonaparte than

any

any of his predeceſſors: firſt, becauſe he is a *foreign uſurper*; and, ſecondly, becauſe his reign is more avowedly tyrannical (though not more really ſo) than any preceding one. To think of impoſing ſuch a yoke as his upon the French people, degraded, terrified and ſpirit-broken as they are, unaſſiſted by the vigour which only a ſtate of war can produce, is an abſurdity, of which a leſs able man than Bonaparte would be incapable. But a ſtill ſtronger reaſon exiſts to induce him to ſhun a general peace, as a rock fatal to his authority. He has "puſhed" the Jacobins from their "ſtools." He has undertaken the difficult taſk, not merely to keep his foot upon the necks of a great and populous nation, but to control, to awe, to confine the furious ſpirit of Jacobiniſm itſelf, which is inceſſantly at work to prevent the eſtabliſhment of *any* authority, and which he has exaſperated in the higheſt degree, by daring to reign without recognizing its ſupremacy. It is not by his cobweb Conſtitution that he can enchain that turbulent, reſtleſs and vindictive ſpirit. For that purpoſe he wants the force, the activity, the buſtle, the energy, the pretences for terror and ſeverity, which war alone can furniſh. During the ſtorm which has raged for ſome years with unceaſing fury, it would have been difficult, perhaps impoſsible, without the energy derived from a ſtate of war, to defend

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the lawful, the mild Government of Great Britain—a Government enthroned in the hearts of its ſubjects—againſt the Jacobinical Furies which France had let looſe in the world. How, then, would a foreign tyrant, a Corſican uſurper, be able, by the ſilken bands of peace, to reſtrain thoſe Furies in their native Hell?

We are ſometimes told, that the exhauſted and ruinous ſtate of France muſt overcome all theſe difficulties, and render pacification indiſpenſable. —That, inſtead of being able to find reſources for the continuance of the war, the new Government muſt reſort to Peace, in order to heal the bleeding wounds of the country, and to reſtore the ſources of its proſperity. Thoſe who urge this reaſoning, are not aware that it can apply only to a mild, a regular, a fixed and a lawful Government, which poſſeſſes the confidence and affection of the people, which makes their welfare its chief care, and which can unite them in bonds of harmonious and beneficial intercourſe with other States. Between ſuch a Government, and the violent, rapacious, oppreſsive and uſurped power, which now domineers over France, and which affrights ſurrounding nations, there is no reſemblance. They have no common qualities. They cannot act upon the ſame principles. They cannot produce the ſame effects. They cannot, in the ſame manner, ſupply their wants. They are no more ſuſceptible of a com-

pariſon with each other than the patient, laborious huſbandman, who, to provide the neceſſaries of life, clears, cultivates, and ſows the ground; and the ferocious beaſt, which, impelled by ravenous hunger, ruſhes from his barren foreſt upon the helpleſs and unſuſpecting traveller. To ſupply her wants, the French Republic muſt continue to plunder, ravage and revolutionize other countries. She has no other means of ſupport. If inſtinct did not lead her to appeaſe her cravings in that manner, ſhe would be compelled to do ſo by neceſsity. She cannot wait the ſlow proceſs by which alone commerce, arts and manufactures, could furniſh her with ſupplies. Her demands are urgent, and ſhe can ſatisfy them only by prey. Nor is her new tyrant, Bonaparte, inexperienced in this mode of procuring ſubſiſtence. He has been accuſtomed to it in Italy, and in Egypt. He has habit, as well as nature and neceſsity, to impel him to purſue it. It is true, that the laſt campaign has furniſhed the reſt of Europe with great additional defence againſt the excurſions of the Republican monſter. The Corſican aſſumes his bloody ſceptre at a moment the moſt unpropitious to his favourite and neceſſary courſe of external depredation, that has occurred during the whole Revolution. But be that as it may, he has no option. He muſt perſevere in the foreign revolutionary ſyſtem of

the Republic, as the only means of providing for his armies, of keeping alive their ardour, and of gilding the chains of a people, who, in the midſt of their ſlavery, have yet a taſte for the ſweets of conqueſt and plunder. Whether his chances be great or ſmall, he muſt follow them up. Like a deſperate gameſter, he muſt ſtake his all upon one throw. No hope awaits him, unleſs he can purſue, with ſucceſs, thoſe plans of rapine and ſubverſion, which are as congenial to his heart, as they are neceſſary to the maintenance of his authority—Unleſs he can thus enable himſelf to cruſh both his foreign and domeſtic foes, he muſt ſoon expect the moment when, FROM THE WEST——

"Great Birnam Wood to high Dunſinane-hill,
"Shall come againſt him."*

* It has been common of late to compare Bonaparte to Cromwell. Some perſons, indeed, in the exceſs of modern liberality, at one moment indulged a fond hope that he would have juſtified a compariſon with Monk. But that deluſion, like many others, has paſſed away, and the "Firſt Conſul" is now conſidered as a ſecond Cromwell. With all the deteſtation of Cromwell that his character is fitted to inſpire, it is conceived that even *his* memory may be injured by ſuch a parallel. If he had been ſtill more execrable than he was, his memory might be under a ſimilar obligation to Bonaparte, which M. Scarron (who was remarkable for the deformity of his perſon), expreſſed, on preſenting a ſtranger to Louis XIVth. Sire, ſays he, I have the honour to introdnce to your Majeſty a Nobleman, to whom I am under the greateſt obligation. How ſo, ſays the King? But for him, replied Scarron, I ſhould have been the uglieſt man in your Majeſty's dominions.

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Laying aſide, however, all conſideration of imperious circumſtance, it is aſtoniſhing that any perſon can give this Uſurper credit for an intention to renounce the obnoxious and deſtructive principles of the Republic. He has aſked for no ſuch credit. He has, indeed, made general profeſsions of a pacific diſpoſition;—but ſuch profeſsions have invariably accompanied every revolutionary change in France, and they have been copiouſly employed to lull, with falſe hope, both internal and external enemies, until each new Tyrant had time to put himſelf in a poſition both of defence and offence. For ſuch objects only, has the Corſican talked of peace, and aſſumed the ſpecious title of Pacificator. But has he renounced any one principle of the Republic? Has he avowed any one principle of orderly ſociety? Has he, in a Conſtitution which he pretends to eſtabliſh in the heart of Chriſtendom, made any profeſsion of Chriſtianity? Has he, in that Conſtitution, provided any one form of religious worſhip? Has he there even recognized the exiſtence of a God? Has he not omitted all this, when years of avowed Atheiſm and open impiety, moſt loudly called for a public and ſolemn abjuration of that blaſphemous philoſophy, which had dared to outrage the Majeſty of Heaven? With regard to the *anarchical* principles of the Revolution, has he not juſt made an

unuſual—an affected diſplay of them, by adding "The Sovereignty of the People" to the cuſtomary *inſignia* of the Republic, in the letter which this Uſurper of yeſterday has had the audacity to addreſs to the SOVEREIGN of theſe Realms; who, through a long line of Princes, derives his deſcent from the Founder of the Saxon Heptarchy—who unites, in his Sacred Perſon, the rival claims of the illuſtrious Houſes of York and Lancaſter—and whoſe Throne is become the Grand Bulwark of all lawful authority.

After all, it ſhould be remembered, that it is the nature, and the principles of the French Republic, which produce an inſuperable bar to peace. While a power ſo conſtituted, remains in the heart of Europe, there can be no well-founded hope for repoſe or ſafety.

It is not becauſe France terms herſelf a Republic, that peace with her is impracticable. It is not, as has been repeatedly declared in Parliament, the *form* of Government in France which precludes the relations of peace and amity with that country. France is not a Republic in any ſenſe in which that term has ever been underſtood in civilized ſociety. She is a Republic altogether *ſui generis*, as her Revolution is perfectly anomalous. A Republic, at the beſt, is certainly the form of Government the leaſt ſuited to the enjoyment of tranquillity, internal,

or external, and, indeed, the leaſt favourable to the exiſtence of freedom. But, with all its diſadvantages, it has hitherto implied a Government friendly to thoſe principles, and incorporated with thoſe inſtitutions, religious and moral, which have always been conſidered as the neceſſary foundations of civil ſociety. In this ſenſe France is no more a Republic than ſhe is a Monarchy. The ſyſtem which ſhe terms republican is eſſentially hoſtile to the principles and the inſtitutions, to the morals and the manners, which are neceſſary to every other Government on earth.—To ſuch a Republic the very terms negociation and treaty are not applicable. It is an abuſe of words to employ them. They cannot, in ſuch a caſe, produce their effect; they cannot lead to peace. If, in conſequence of any diplomatic convention with ſuch a Republic, armies could be diſbanded, and fleets laid up in ordinary; if, for a moment, the expenſes and burdens of war could be ſuſpended (and no one pretends to ſay that this could be *ſafely* done), ſtill the war would *ſubſtantially* continue. For that Republic is in a ſtate of unceaſing conſpiracy and warfare againſt all Europe, and againſt all Society: and the forms of peace only enable her to purſue her deſtructive plans with greater advantage, than the more guarded ſtate of open hoſtility. It is a fallacy to ſay that Pruſsia is at peace with France.—Even her territories are

not protected by the treaty into which ſhe has entered, but by the Allied armies, which engage the whole attention of France; and even while ſhe ſeems to reſpire from the fatigues of war, the Republic, her good friend and ally, is fighting, and conſpiring, and intriguing for the ſubverſion of every Government, and therefore, in effect, of the Pruſsian Government—for the plunder, the ſubjugation, the deſolation of every State, and, conſequently, of the States of his Pruſsian Majeſty. Such a peace is the repoſe of a man who, while half the town in which he lives is in flames, determines to wait quietly at home, when he ſhould be aſsiſting his neighbours to extinguiſh the conflagration.

Will poſterity believe, that a very large portion of mankind have refuſed, and ſtill refuſe, to give any aid towards extinguiſhing this tremendous conflagration, which, burſting forth in the very centre of civilized ſociety, has, from the moment of its eruption, continued to ſpread its flames, with unabating fury, in every direction? That multitudes look upon its ravages with unconcern, although their own dwellings are in its immediate vicinity? That many chuſe rather to indulge their private differences, their petty diſſenſions, than to act together for their mutual ſafety? That pride, ambition, ſelfiſhneſs, envy, and all the other motives which can render

render men factious and diſaffected, ſtill operate on ſome with undiminiſhed force, and infatuate them to ſuch a degree, that they endeavour to cut off the ſupplies of water; to obſtruct and haraſs all who are actively engaged in ſubduing the flames; nay, to encourage the ruffian incendiaries, who ſeek to throw oil upon them, in order to increaſe the confuſion, that they may pillage and murder with impunity? That even fools are to be found whom it is poſsible to perſuade, that their beſt means of preſervation are to diſcontinue their exertions, to retire to reſt, and to leave the fire to burn out of itſelf; or that, at moſt, they ſhould do no more than drive back the flames to the quarter whence they firſt iſſued, and that no one has a right to follow them thither, to put out their embers, and prevent their again breaking out with increaſed violence?

To counteract ſuch wickedneſs, ſuch infatuation, the ſound and conſiderate part of ſociety muſt rouze themſelves to extraordinary vigilance and exertion: they muſt not only keep alive in their own minds, but endeavour to impreſs on the minds of others, a deep ſenſe of the perilous and arduous nature of the preſent juncture: they muſt both indulge and promote, to the utmoſt of their power, ſentiments of indeſtructible indignation, and of implacable hatred, againſt

that

that ſanguinary, perfidious and revolutionary monſter, the French Republic: they muſt not only purſue this monſter with perſevering hoſtility, but they muſt watch every avenue by which he might find a way to eſcape: they muſt guard againſt his arts as well as his arms, againſt his wiles as well as his open violence: they muſt not only abjure all accommodation with him, but they muſt, until he be proſtrate and lifeleſs, ſtop their ears againſt the *enſnaring* ſound of PEACE, from whatever quarter that ſound may come: they muſt remember, that every motive which ought to influence the human mind, that every feeling which ought to animate the human heart—that not only an enlightened ſelf-love, but every ſocial affection—that the ſtrongeſt ties of nature—that the endearing bonds of friendſhip—that the ſacred obligations of allegiance—that the beneficial, and, till modern times indiſſoluble attachments of country—that the more diffuſed and general impulſe of humanity—that a concern for immediate deſcendants and for the remoteſt poſterity—nay, that gratitude and reverential duty to the Great and Awful Being, whoſe temples have been profaned, whoſe Majeſty has been inſulted, whoſe worſhip has been proſcribed by the Monſter againſt whom we are contending for every human bleſsing—that all theſe con-

ſiderations unite in calling upon every individual to exert his whole powers and energies for its deſtruction.

Whether it be allotted to ſociety to eſcape the deſtruction with which it is menaced, can be known only to the Supreme Diſpoſer of all events, Who, at one glance, beholds the paſt, the preſent, and the future. But, as far as our limited capacities can enable us to form a judgement upon this moſt important of all temporal concerns, an opportunity for ſuch an eſcape ſeems to preſent itſelf. The reſult of all human efforts muſt, doubtleſs, be uncertain; but if, in a great and awful criſis, black with horror, replete with calamity, and pregnant with ruin, it be poſsible, without preſumption, to pronounce confidently on the efficacy of propoſed expedients, we may venture to aſſert, that if mankind deſire to avert the perils to which they are expoſed, they muſt liſten to the warning VOICE—iſſuing from the North;—which calls upon all Nations to "RESTORE THE "RIGHTS OF LAWFUL GOVERNMENT, WHERE-"EVER THOSE RIGHTS HAVE BEEN USURPED "—TO UNITE THEIR FORCES FOR THE SPEEDY "DESTRUCTION OF THE COMMON ENEMY, AND "TO BUILD ON HIS RUINS PERMANENT TRAN-"QUILLITY FOR THEMSELVES AND POSTE-

"RITY—

" RITY—AND TO RESOLVE NOT TO SHEATH
" THE SWORD, UNTIL THEY HAVE SEEN THE
" DOWNFAL OF THE MONSTER, WHO THREA-
" TENS TO CRUSH ALL LEGAL AUTHORITIES."

" No panse, no rest, 'till, welt'ring on the ground,
" The pois'nous Hydra lies, and pierc'd with many
" a wound."

THE END.

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